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BYZANTINE AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES



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List of Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
B	*Byzantion*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
BS	*Byzantinoslavica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn)
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*
DIEE	*Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EO	*Échos d'Orient*
GRBS	*Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*
IRAIK	*Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinople*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JGR	J. & P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MPG	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia series Graeco-Latina*
MPL	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia series Latina*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Pauly-Wissowa)
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZRVI	*Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

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his work additional meanings, Neville argues that Bryennios acted similarly, with the aforementioned Roman historians thought to 'provide the models for correct and incorrect behaviour that underlay some of Nikephoros' narrative constructions' (p. 41).

The 'narrative constructions' in question are analyzed in the study's second part, which presents a series of penetrative readings in the *Material for History* (pp. 61–170). Many of these prove crucial to Neville's central argument: that Bryennios employed a value system based on classical Roman ideals which he used to glorify his grandfather and, conversely, to undercut his *prima facie* support for Alexios Komnenos and his dynasty. By classical Roman military ethics, Alexios' adherence to a devious style of warfare classifies him as a cowardly trickster, however successful he may be. Alexios suffers by comparison with Nikephoros' grandfather and other leading generals, who, in spite of their failures, appear courageous heroes since they fight with directness and honesty, as a valiant Roman should. The readings are seen to present a negative image of Alexios, with Bryennios suggesting that his father-in-law lacked manly virtue in the classical Roman sense. The implications of this interpretation for our understanding of twelfth-century Byzantine politics and culture are explored in the final part of the study (pp. 171–203). Neville identifies the *Material for History* as a response to Nikephoros' disappointment at his own failure to rule, and a cathartic exercise since he could take solace in the knowledge that virtuous men, like his grandfather, did not always triumph, and, more importantly, had preserved their noble character by refusing to resort to the dishonest approach which had benefited Alexios Komnenos.

With the argument that the *Material for History* contains a subtle critique of Alexios – 'the most novel conclusion of the current reading of the text' (p. 177) – Neville breaks new ground in several respects. Rarely have Byzantine scholars considered the potential significance of military doctrine to character portrayals in historiography, or pondered the related idea that historians might have exploited cultural ideals of military behaviour. The innovative approach owes much to J. E. Lendon, author of several studies discerning the importance of literary and cultural models in ancient descriptions of battle. Observing similar tendencies in Middle Byzantine historiography, Neville offers a new assessment of the much-discussed relationship between Bryennios' history and that written by his wife Anna, with the *Alexiad* judged to have been 'not so much a continuation of her husband's (history) as a rebuttal' (p. 183). Anna's decision to appeal to imagery from ancient Greek rather than Roman culture is perceptively linked to her passionate defence of Alexios' Machiavellian military philosophy, as Hellenic society typically afforded precedence to victory of any sort over honour and individual prowess. A more accurate reading of the *Alexiad* would strengthen Neville's argument here, since Alexios loses several early battles through a hasty approach, only to enjoy more success in maturity once he adopts more considered tactics, reinforcing the conviction that Anna constructed a conscious defence of her father's military conduct. This slight criticism aside, Neville's decision to apply the study of war narratives to Byzantine historiography is both bold and inspired. With research into war writing deemed to offer 'enhanced literary insight',[3] one hopes others will see the benefits of analyzing other historical works in similar fashion.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude with the impression that this book is only of value to military or literary historians of Byzantium. Classicists too are encouraged to think of Nikephoros as 'a kindred spirit' (p. 205), and can gain much from witnessing how the Byzantines drew upon their rich cultural heritage. Ancient and medieval historians alike will therefore find much to appreciate in Neville's invaluable new study, which continues the trend of re-evaluating historical texts of the Middle Byzantine period by offering a challenging interpretation that should encourage further discussion of a neglected author and his work.

Kyle Sinclair
University of Birmingham

Alicia Walker, *The Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012. Pp. xxvii, 260.

3 Kate McLaughlin, 'Introduction', in Kate McLaughlin (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to War Writing* (Cambridge, 2009) 1.

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Contemporary understanding of Byzantine imperial imagery is still largely influenced by André Grabar's pioneering 1936 study *L'Empereur dans l'art Byzantin*, which described a largely static image of an ideal emperor, drawn from Roman and Christian traditions. Over the years, however, new interpretations of individual works of art, such as Paris Gr 510, an illustrated book of the homilies of Gregory Nazianzus, have added new insights into imperial panegyric. In *The Emperor and the World*, Alicia Walker has taken a revisionist interpretation a step further by revealing how imperial imagery could be both more diverse and adaptable than previously recognized in its assimilation of elements from Eastern cultures.

This argument is encapsulated in her analysis of the Troyes Casket, a work of ivory probably dating to the tenth or eleventh centuries, which contains images of imperial power familiar from other works of Byzantine art: an unnamed emperor hunting a lion, in one scene; in another an emperor in triumph after conquering a city. Grabar catalogued these images alongside others of emperors on horseback and in triumph and concluded that they were traditional depictions of imperial might and victory. Although he noted elsewhere that the casket shows 'l'influence direct de l'Orient' he did not describe or illustrate the two side panels of the casket, each of which show an exotic Chinese bird. Walker, whilst accepting the idea of traditional depictions of imperial power, argues convincingly that these birds were an integral part of the overall design and were intended to demonstrate how wide the empire stretched between its borders.

Such Eastern influences as the Chinese bird on the Troyes Casket have often been seen as simply decorative, without intended meaning rather than part of the semantic architecture of the artwork, However, Walker's focus is not on official imagery. Instead, she argues, 'unofficial, periodic and flexible' images drew on exotic elements from the art of neighbouring cultures as an additional way of communicating imperial power and prestige, drawing on particular contemporary circumstances. The nature of these artistic exchanges between Byzantium and the East varied from the assimilation and expropriation of potent symbols of power through to the expression of rivalry and the incomparable superiority of Christian Byzantine culture.

Attitudes to Eastern cultures changed over time, Walker argues. The early absorption of eastern iconography under the Macedonian emperors demonstrated on the Troyes Casket is increasingly replaced by polemicist attitudes towards Islam under the Komnenoi. The Darmstadt Casket, for example, is put forward as an example of twelfth-century Byzantine antagonism. A lute player, sitting cross-legged in front of a number of bellicose figures, features on a panel of this ivory casket, another work which has previously been viewed through its parts and not as a whole. Although lute players were common in Islamic art, Walker argues that the scene was not merely decorative but was meant to contrast with one of Alexander on another panel. Whilst Alexander is presented as a strong ruler, in front of his devoted subjects, the lute player was meant to depict Darius, an indulgent, corrupt king with a rebellious people. The two scenes, according to this design, represent good and bad rule, providing an Eastern nemesis to pit against the heroic Alexander rather than a Byzantine one, such as Julian the Apostate (who was depicted as a bad emperor in a miniature of Paris Gr 510). In later centuries, Eastern art itself could be deemed worthy of contempt and not emulation. Walker argues that Mesarites' description of John the Fat's Mouchroutas Hall, a building designed by 'a Persian hand,' deliberately offered empty praise for an emperor believed unable to live up to the Christian ideals expected.

Sometimes the evidence is stretched to make a point. An attempt to interpret a scene of Herakles on the Darmstadt casket involves comparisons with imagery on a vase from the fifth-century BCE and a sarcophagus from the third-century CE, which must be doubtful influences on twelfth-century Byzantine artists. The distinction between artistic assimilation and expropriation is sometimes unclear and Walker's decision to consider imagery from imperial rhetoric as well as works of art considerably widens the field and sometimes obscures the important differences between the two.

Walker's description of this alternative imperial imagery as adaptable and evolving is convincing and yet she also presents a portrait of official art as rigid, accepting Grabar's account of an immutable and hermetic iconography of divine endorsement. There is a strong case that official imagery evolved too, in a not dissimilar fashion from the unofficial imagery Walker describes. For example, Leo VI (886–912) was presented as a wise old man on one coin, a form that was not repeated, and his brother Alexander (912–13) introduced several iconographic innovations on his coinage in just eighteen months of rule, including one of the earliest 'official' images of divine endorsement. This raises questions about Walker's strict division between the two domains of imagery: official and unofficial. Imperial art in its wider sense was influenced by powerful ideas and imagery within and beyond the Byzantine Empire. The official image of the emperors, therefore, arguably developed through the same patterns of 'covert innovation' and

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'episodic ruptures' Walker describes. This is surely the right description of the changing patterns of imagery produced for individual emperors and this important work provides foundations for a wider re-appraisal of Byzantine imperial art, which is now overdue.

Neil Churchill
University of Sussex

Basil C. Gounaris, *'See how the Gods Favour Sacrilege': English Views and Politics on Candia under Siege (1645–1669)*. Athens: Department of Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2012. Pp. 133.

A comprehensive history of the war between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire for control of Crete, making full use of the abundant source materials, has yet to be written.[1] Given the duration of the war and its crucial importance for the balance of power in the Mediterranean, this absence is both surprising and regrettable. Crete was a vital staging-post post on Venice's trade routes but also a valuable source of timber, foodstuffs and manpower. The struggle lasted twenty-four years, while the island's capital, Candia or Kastro, withstood a twenty-one-year siege before it was finally surrendered. Despite Venice's vigorous efforts to mobilize the support of various European states, Ottoman persistence and military might eventually secured control of the whole island.

The historiography of the Cretan War is a subject of great complexity.[2] Basil C. Gounaris's little book examines just one aspect of it: the involvement – actually, the non-involvement – of England, and he does so on the basis of state papers, diplomatic reports and correspondence which have not previously been examined with such thoroughness for this purpose. He assumes quite a lot of knowledge on the part of his reader, both of the main events of the war itself and of English history of the period. We are talking about the last years of Charles I, the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, and the restoration of the monarchy. (A chronological table would have been a useful addition.)

After a brief prefatory chapter, the narrative proceeds chronologically through chapters 2 to 6. Chapter 2, entitled 'Currants and Malmsey', provides the background to the trade war that England and the Serene Republic were engaged in during the years immediately before the Ottoman attack on Crete. Chapter 3 covers the period from 1642, when Parliament tried to force down the price of currants from the Ionian Isles by threatening to buy from the (Ottoman-ruled) Peloponnese, down to 1649. This tale (somewhat confusingly told) of embargoes, threats and desperate negotiations, as Venice steered a clever course between King and Parliament, reached a satisfactory resolution in 1644. To show its gratitude, the Venetian Senate even offered to send 'men, money, Arms or Ammunition' to King Charles after his defeat at Marston Moor. The offer did not reach him until early the next year, but within months the situation had changed completely with the arrival of the Ottoman fleet off Crete. At this stage, developments were followed very closely in England. Noting that the Ottoman attack was facilitated by an unusually calm sea, the *Moderate Intelligencer* commented: 'See how the Gods favour sacrilege' – appropriated as the title of this book. But there was a dilemma for England, since its natural sympathy for Venice was at odds with its commercial activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, where the Levant Company had major interests, backed by a powerful lobby in London.

Chapter 4 covers the period of the Commonwealth. Cromwell at first refused an alliance with Venice, but later offered Irish troops to help in the defence of Crete; a small contingent did in fact take part. But there were more pressing concerns for England: the Irish Wars, the Scottish campaign, the first and second Dutch Wars (1652–4 and 1665–7) and of course internal politics. The time was never right for active involvement in Crete, and in any case the merchants would not stand for any action that would offend the Turks and run counter to their own interests. Chapter 5 moves into the reign of Charles II, when Venice might have hoped for some encouraging

1 For a recent survey with particular reference to contemporary accounts see Tassos A. Kaplanis, 'Recording the history of the 'Cretan War' (1645–1669): an overview', *Κάμπος: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 15 (2007) 91–123.

2 A number of studies on the sources and on literary representations on the war can be found in the recent volume edited by S. Kaklamanis, *Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος: Από την ιστορία στη λογοτεχνία* (Heraklion 2008).

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signs. The King's ambassador to the Porte, the Earl of Winchilsea, was instructed to emphasize English neutrality. Thus, in Gounaris's words, 'The future of Candia had been determined irrevocably.' At this point we meet the Grand Vizier, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, for the first time, with no hint of the decisive part that he was to play in the final onslaught on Candia. The possibility that England might play a mediating role is raised from time to time over the next few years. Diplomatic contacts between Venice's ambassadors and Charles II began in 1661, but trade and piracy issues were often complicating factors.

The final phase of the war, the subject of Chapter 6, unfolds following after the end of the Sultan's war with the Holy Roman Empire (1664) and the appointment of Köprülü as commander-in-chief. Work begins on the construction of a new Ottoman fleet, and by November 1666 Köprülü has taken charge in Crete. Diplomatic contacts continue behind the scenes. But in his reply to representations from the Venetian Senate to King Charles II, the Secretary of State Baron Arlington refers to the recent outbreak of plague, the Great Fire, the cost of the Dutch wars, trade relations with the Levant, and the distance from the Ottoman Empire, in order to justify his country's neutrality. England continued to monitor developments and pursue diplomatic contacts, but never followed the example of the French.

The final chapter puts all the diplomatic detail in perspective, and draws conclusions about the roles of individual actors and the attitude of the English public. Gounaris emphasizes – but also explains – the lack of an effective and coherent English policy on the war. Venice requested and expected help from the Christian states of Europe throughout the war, but failed to realize that the age of Crusades was long since over. English trade considerations effectively neutralized any sympathy that might be felt for a fellow Christian state.

This study draws on extensive archival research and a rich bibliography, which is skilfully woven into the analysis of primary sources. However, Gounaris's account suffers from occasional lapses of clarity, not helped by some peculiarities in the English and sporadic misprints. But the main thrust of his argument is crystal-clear: England, under its various rulers, pursued a policy of studied neutrality throughout the war, more anxious to protect its commercial interests than to save a faraway island from a Muslim conqueror. He concludes: 'In a state where the political culture was debatable, ethnic identities incompatible, and the sense of Britishness still tormented by competing sub-traditions, the Reason of economic figures could not be disregarded; perhaps, for the time being, it was the only undisputable [sic] reason. If this was so, then setting the defence of Venetian-held Candia within the scope of English state interest at any time and from any angle simply did not make sense.' This thought-provoking and dispassionate study is a significant addition to the, still sadly limited, scholarly literature on the Cretan War.

David Holton
Selwyn College, Cambridge

Hala Halim, *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism: an Archive*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2013. Pp. xx + 459.

Hala Halim, who was born and bred in Alexandria and teaches at New York University, has a unique perspective from which to view the four male writers whose work she studies in her book. Two of these (C. P. Cavafy and Bernard de Zogheb) were born and lived most of their lives in Alexandria but – unlike Professor Halim – were neither from a Muslim nor a Coptic background, while the others found themselves temporarily in Alexandria as a result of the contingencies of war: an Englishman of Anglo-Irish and Welsh extraction who shortly afterwards spent some time in India (E. M. Forster) and an Englishman born in India whose parents were also born there, and who fled to Egypt when the Germans invaded Greece, the country where he had chosen to live (Lawrence Durrell).

The main argument of Halim's book is that 'Alexandrian cosmopolitanism' was a construct developed and propagated by long-term residents of Alexandria (many of them natives of the city) who were neither Muslims nor Copts, and that this construct was further elaborated by a number of non-Egyptian writers. In fact, Halim contends, Alexandrian cosmopolitanism, which largely excluded Muslims and Copts, was a Eurocentric colonial discourse that appropriated the city by Europeanizing its ethnic, religious and cultural diversity – this despite the fact that in 1897 the European and Levantine population of the city made up less than 15% of the total (p. 42).

Halim argues that the Greek community was central to both the content and the construction of the myth of Alexandrian cosmopolitanism. The fact that Greeks played a significant economic

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Despite the hideous critical jargon that alternates with passages of elegant clarity, Halim's book should be required reading (and *La vita alessandrina* would be entertaining listening) for all Cavafy scholars.

Peter Mackridge
St Cross College, Oxford

Giorgos Giannoulopoulos, *Ο Μοντερνισμός και οι Δοκιμές του Σεφέρη*. Athens: Polis, 2011. Pp. 597.

In this well-researched study, Giannoulopoulos sets out to show how Seferis' essays (*Δοκιμές*) – unlike his 'exemplary modernist' poetry – fail to match the depth and intellectual rigour present in the theory of High Modernists like Eliot and Pound. This failure, according to the author, was unavoidable because Seferis was not as knowledgeable as either Eliot or Pound, and was, moreover, so concerned with the idea of Greekness that he emphasized and prioritized issues more limited in their theoretical value.

In order to provide the reader with the backdrop against which he is examining the essays, Giannoulopoulos embarks on a detailed presentation of the origins, birth and development of the Modernist movement. The first section of the book begins with chapters on Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Nietzsche and Worringer and proceeds to an overview of Modernism and a brief history of Modernism in England. Since the author uses Language and Time (in the form of tradition, history and literary ancestry) as the study's two main gateways into Modernism, the second and third sections of the book are dedicated to these topics, with chapters focusing on the Imagists, Romanticism, T. E. Hulme, Pound, Eliot, Fenollosa, and Joyce – to list but a few.

In these pages, Giannoulopoulos succeeds in the very demanding task of providing the Greek reader – who is not necessarily familiar with the English bibliography on Anglo-American literary Modernism – with a comprehensive history of the movement and an introduction to its main components. Despite its wealth of information and use of an impressive selection of sources both in Greek and in English, however, this study does not clearly delineate how each of its chapters and sections contributes to its overall argument. In fact, this book does not really offer any explicit connections or parallels between its research and Seferis; leaving the reader to wonder how much of the information included is directly relevant to the examination offered of the essays.

The focus of the book does shift to Seferis in the fourth section, which comprises eleven chapters. Although these chapters offer no clear explanation as to why one should look at the essays separately from the poetry or the translations, or what the advantages of these distinctions are, the first chapter of this section, interestingly, begins with a quotation from the third volume of Seferis' diaries (*Μέρες Γ*). Thus, even though this book attempts to isolate Seferis' essays from his other writings, it still has recourse to Seferis' other work in order to clarify its agenda.

In the discussion that follows this quotation, one of the basic premises seems to be that both the High Modernists and Seferis created their work in the light of a unifying and unchanging idea or ideal: poetry for the Modernists and Greekness for Seferis (p. 554). The author maintains that 'the way Seferis talks about Greekness has numerous, non-coincidental, similarities with the way Modernists talk about poetry' and, since both poetry and Greekness remain 'faithful to themselves' (p. 555), their unalterable nature always provides the poets with a solid point of reference, which serves both as a foundation and an aspiration at the same time. This broad definition of Greekness, as reiterated by Giannoulopoulos, includes the rather obvious, or predictable, components of language and landscape but, also, a number of 'actions or traits diachronically Greek because they are linked to aesthetic, cultural or intellectual modes with roots in classical antiquity, which are inherited or, at least, 'naturally reproduced to this day' (p. 487). Even though the idea of Greekness and its connotations leads to a number of interesting readings of Seferis, the emphasis placed on it here appears to prescribe and limit the ways in which he can

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be read. The limitations of these readings become even more apparent when further compounded by the idea of a 'natural' reproduction and the favouring of an inherited past over a past that is chosen, or taken, rather than given.

The concluding chapter, entitled 'Modernist and/or Greek?', similarly ends with a question: is Seferis a Modernist of Greek origin or a Greek with modernist tendencies? The thought-provoking analysis that precedes this final question puts forward a number of arguments that could be used to support either side. Ultimately, though, why should one attempt to answer such a question? In the chapters on Modernism, the multiple faces of the movement and its inherent variations, ambivalences and contradictions are presented. This presentation, I would argue, makes the articulation of a different question more pressing: can one consider Seferis' essays as another version of modernist critical writing? The extensive scope of *Ο Μοντερνισμός και οι* Δοκιμές *του Σεφέρη*, means that sufficient evidence is offered in support of the position that Seferis could be described as an 'exemplary modernist' in his essays as well as his poetry.

In separating the essays from the poetry, this study restricts its insight into the work of Seferis. For Giannoulopoulos, the idea of Greekness seems to function much as the marble head whose weight exhausts the speaker's arms in the famous line from 'Mythistorema'. Despite these problems and limitations, however, this book constitutes a significant contribution to Seferis studies and offers those interested in Modernist theory or the work of Seferis in general an undeniably useful discussion of the essays. Although Giannoulopoulos' examination might have been improved by some attempt to combine the concepts of Modernism and Greekness in its reading of the essays, it certainly succeeds as an invitation to further scholarship on the subject.

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signs. The King's ambassador to the Porte, the Earl of Winchilsea, was instructed to emphasize English neutrality. Thus, in Gounaris's words, 'The future of Candia had been determined irrevocably.' At this point we meet the Grand Vizier, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, for the first time, with no hint of the decisive part that he was to play in the final onslaught on Candia. The possibility that England might play a mediating role is raised from time to time over the next few years. Diplomatic contacts between Venice's ambassadors and Charles II began in 1661, but trade and piracy issues were often complicating factors.

The final phase of the war, the subject of Chapter 6, unfolds following after the end of the Sultan's war with the Holy Roman Empire (1664) and the appointment of Köprülü as commander-in-chief. Work begins on the construction of a new Ottoman fleet, and by November 1666 Köprülü has taken charge in Crete. Diplomatic contacts continue behind the scenes. But in his reply to representations from the Venetian Senate to King Charles II, the Secretary of State Baron Arlington refers to the recent outbreak of plague, the Great Fire, the cost of the Dutch wars, trade relations with the Levant, and the distance from the Ottoman Empire, in order to justify his country's neutrality. England continued to monitor developments and pursue diplomatic contacts, but never followed the example of the French.

The final chapter puts all the diplomatic detail in perspective, and draws conclusions about the roles of individual actors and the attitude of the English public. Gounaris emphasizes – but also explains – the lack of an effective and coherent English policy on the war. Venice requested and expected help from the Christian states of Europe throughout the war, but failed to realize that the age of Crusades was long since over. English trade considerations effectively neutralized any sympathy that might be felt for a fellow Christian state.

This study draws on extensive archival research and a rich bibliography, which is skilfully woven into the analysis of primary sources. However, Gounaris's account suffers from occasional lapses of clarity, not helped by some peculiarities in the English and sporadic misprints. But the main thrust of his argument is crystal-clear: England, under its various rulers, pursued a policy of studied neutrality throughout the war, more anxious to protect its commercial interests than to save a faraway island from a Muslim conqueror. He concludes: 'In a state where the political culture was debatable, ethnic identities incompatible, and the sense of Britishness still tormented by competing sub-traditions, the Reason of economic figures could not be disregarded; perhaps, for the time being, it was the only undisputable [sic] reason. If this was so, then setting the defence of Venetian-held Candia within the scope of English state interest at any time and from any angle simply did not make sense.' This thought-provoking and dispassionate study is a significant addition to the, still sadly limited, scholarly literature on the Cretan War.

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Hala Halim, who was born and bred in Alexandria and teaches at New York University, has a unique perspective from which to view the four male writers whose work she studies in her book. Two of these (C. P. Cavafy and Bernard de Zogheb) were born and lived most of their lives in Alexandria but – unlike Professor Halim – were neither from a Muslim nor a Coptic background, while the others found themselves temporarily in Alexandria as a result of the contingencies of war: an Englishman of Anglo-Irish and Welsh extraction who shortly afterwards spent some time in India (E. M. Forster) and an Englishman born in India whose parents were also born there, and who fled to Egypt when the Germans invaded Greece, the country where he had chosen to live (Lawrence Durrell).

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and social role in modern Alexandrian life made it easy for many Europeans (and Alexandrians of European origin) to imagine that Alexandria was and always had been an essentially Greek city and to view the Arabo-Islamic period, which lasted from the Arab conquest in 517 till Napoleon's invasion in 1798, as a long interval of commercial and cultural stagnation that afforded no historical interest. The invention of Alexandrian cosmopolitanism, with its downplaying of the Muslim element in particular, was a remarkably effective example of wishful thinking promoted by Greeks and other Europeans alike. Halim argues that Cavafy's poetry was pressed into service by Forster and Durrell as a demonstration of the essential continuity of Hellenic history and culture in Alexandria despite the unfortunate 1300-year interruption, and that the myth has been perpetuated in later Anglo-American criticism of Alexandrian literature and in the memoirs of post-1952 émigrés from the city.

Nevertheless, Halim reads her chosen texts with an open mind, highlighting instances where theoretical binary oppositions such as 'Orientalist/non-Orientalist' and 'pro-Arab/anti-Arab' fail to do justice to the complexities of the ideas and attitudes expressed in the writing. She shows, for instance, how Cavafy's early adoption of an Orientalist perspective on Arab, Turkish and Islamic culture (in poems such as 'Dünya Güzeli') gave way later to an interest in Egyptian Arabic culture, though she doesn't mention the relevant fact that Cavafy's surname is a word of Turkish – and ultimately Arabic – origin (meaning 'seller or maker of cheap shoes').

One of the many aspects of Halim's book which will be of special interest to Neohellenists is her study of the comic operetta libretti of Bernard de Zogheb (1924–99), which she aptly characterizes as 'Alexandrian camp'. Of Syro-Lebanese origin, de Zogheb was more or less trilingual in French, English and Italian but possessed only a basic colloquial knowledge of Arabic. I first came across a mention of his operettas in *Levant* (2010) by Philip Mansel, who based his information on an article by Halim that re-appears, in revised form, as the fourth chapter of her book. The web page containing her article has a link to an audio recording of de Zogheb's hilarious operetta *La vita alessandrina*, performed by the author himself a year before his death.[1] *La vita alessandrina* was partly inspired by Robert Liddell's biography of Cavafy. As in de Zogheb's other operettas, the libretto – written in inaccurate Italian with an admixture of French, English and occasionally Greek – is set to the music of internationally popular songs (in this case ranging from the Londonderry Air and 'Jimmy crack corn' through 'Smoke gets in your eyes' to the Beatles and beyond). When I first listened to it, I found myself laughing out loud and singing along. One scene ('Waiting for the Zervudachis') has Cavafy's mother Charikleia anxiously waiting at home with her sons and her guests for a Greek lady of higher social status to come to tea – but the awesome invitee eventually fails to materialize. De Zogheb includes a number of Cavafy's poems in the libretto (e.g. 'Candele' ['Κεριά'] sung incongruously to Roberta Flack's 1973 hit 'Killing me softly'). These are in metrical and rhyming Italian, and Halim thinks the translations are probably by de Zogheb himself, though (like me) she wonders what his source was, since his knowledge of Greek was very limited.

Of the three writers Halim focuses on, three were homosexual and only one heterosexual. At one point she suggests a connection between Alexandrian cosmopolitanism and queerness, yet she doesn't specify where Durrell fits into this scheme.

It would also be interesting to have Halim's views on Stratis Tsirkas' fictional representation of Alexandria in *Η Νυχτερίδα* (1965), the third volume *Ακυβέρνητες πολιτείες* (published in Kay Cicellis' translation as *Drifting Cities*), especially since the Cairo-born Tsirkas devotes significant sections of the novel to the memories of the Greek Alexandrian Paraschos – memories which apparently owed much to the author's own childhood visits to Alexandria and which contain reminiscences of the city's past that Paraschos recalls hearing from his uncle Antuanos. Especially relevant are the fictional words addressed by the non-fictional Colonel 'Urabi to Antuanos during the British bombardment in 1882: 'You are guests here. This people has woken up and is seeking to become the master of its own house' (*Η Νυχτερίδα*, p. 195). Nevertheless, despite the fact that Tsirkas was a communist and overtly anti-racist, his trilogy is overwhelmingly peopled by European characters, with Arabs confined to minor roles. Like Cavafy's and de Zogheb's, Tsirkas' knowledge of Arabic was limited to the colloquial, and he corresponded with leading members of the Egyptian Communist Party in French. It is also significant that in his *Αριάγνη* the labyrinthine alleys of Cairo are presented as being just as frightening and unknowable as the 'Arab', 'Egyptian' or 'native' quarter in *The Alexandria Quartet*.

Halim does not read Greek, and she has relied on Greek informants to gain access to Tsirkas' writings on Cavafy and to help her with linguistic points in Greek. Some of this information is

1 Go to http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4t31n9vc and click on 'Supporting material'.

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Reviews

J. Eric Cooper and Michael J. Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pp. xiv, 339.

Cappadocia is a land of many stereotypes. Travellers and pilgrims across the centuries have seen a spiritual landscape in its abundant rock-cut churches and unearthly fairy chimneys. Modern historians have considered this land-locked, arid region as an economic backwater, a frontier society perennially ravaged by raids from Persians or Arabs. Even the medieval sources themselves used the region's name as a byword both for the ignorant country bumpkins who dwelt there, and for the excellent breeds of horses which they supplied to the rest of the Roman world. In this book, which is partially based upon Cooper's 2002 PhD thesis at the University of Oxford, he and Decker set out to give us a coherent study of this land, and in the process to challenge each of these stereotypes. As its title suggests, the book gives us a picture of the *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia*, a world at once more similar to the rest of the empire than we had imagined and at the same time unique. The authors argue for the unity of Cappadocia as a region, both in terms of its coherence and its distinctiveness during the period from the fourth to the eleventh centuries CE. This volume breaks down the subject by approaching it from three angles: Part I deals with geography and the economic activity of 'those who work'; Part II deals with 'those who pray', both monastic and ecclesiastic; Part III discusses 'those who fight', describing the secular elite, and attempting to place them within the context of their peers from the wider Mediterranean world.

In the first part, the authors establish the uniqueness of Cappadocia in the context of the Roman state. Undermining its reputation as an economically poor land, Cooper and Decker present a complex and self-sufficient pre-industrial economy. Much of its worth, however, was stored in movable property, particularly horses, sheep, and slaves, allowing the inhabitants to protect their wealth by moving it out of the way of marauding armies. Cappadocia was an overwhelmingly rural environment, with few cities built and administered in the Greco-Roman tradition. Instead of the urban life characterizing the rest of the Late Antique Roman world, much of the population lived in troglodytic towns, villages, monasteries, or elite complexes, burrowed into the chimneys, cliffs, and hillsides of the region. The authors argue that because settlement patterns differed from elsewhere in the Roman world, the collapse of urban life in the sixth and seventh centuries was less disruptive in Cappadocia than elsewhere.

Like the rest of the Byzantine world, Cappadocia had its share of monasteries, but in the second part Cooper and Decker criticize previous studies that simplistically equated any rock-cut church with a monastic community. Instead, they distinguish the archaeological structures associated with formal monasticism from other church-like complexes (such as those found in villages or elite housing complexes) by identifying refectories as the critical component of a monastery. Using this definition, such formal monasteries prove to be no more common here than elsewhere in the empire. In turn, the region's many churches are just that – buildings associated with the non-monastic church, and important testaments to the pious euergetism of the regional elite.

The book's third part turns to Cappadocia's secular elites, particularly tracing their relationship to counterparts in Constantinople. The authors depict a provincial elite who, in many ways, never fully embraced traditional Roman culture. Never a land of cities, Cappadocia was always a place of petty lords who lived in fortified rural complexes and rode about the land with small personal armies. The elite society which emerges from the details remains quite stable throughout the turbulence of the early middle ages (not necessarily the specific families, but certainly their networks and behaviours). Ultimately, Cappadocian elite attitudes and behaviours sat uncomfortably juxtaposed to the urban values of their fifth and sixth-century counterparts elsewhere, but were instrumental in preserving the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century, defending it in the eighth and ninth, expanding it in the tenth, and betraying it (when it no longer suited their goals and needs) in the eleventh.

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The work is illustrated with the help of about twenty diagrams and maps, helpfully situated in-text. Unfortunately, they are cramped, the maps especially being often difficult to read; they would have benefitted from full-page formatting. While the authors point out that they were limited in the space allowed for images that they could include in the work, a few more (for example, maps showing the distribution of identified monastic sites or subterranean towns to accompany their discussions) would have been welcome. It is in the notes and references at the end of the work that it is most apparent that the volume began life as a doctoral thesis. Although endnotes (as opposed to footnotes) mildly inconvenience readers, who have to regularly flip pages, their principal advantage is in allowing lengthier entries without interrupting the aesthetics of the page. Unfortunately, the notes in *Byzantine Cappadocia* rarely take advantage of this formatting choice: they tend to be dry, and only rarely reward the interested reader with additional discussion.

This particular volume works well in dialogue with other regional studies. Cooper and Decker's work provides one way of disentangling the overall data, creating a history of the specific, and successfully relating it back to the history of the whole. Although far removed from Constantinople, and thus from most of our literary sources, Cappadocia was an integral part of the Roman Empire for over a thousand years. In their study covering some seven centuries of that time, Decker and Cooper have produced a welcome volume which treats the province and its inhabitants with sympathy and genuine fondness, something often wanting in sources written by the residents' medieval contemporaries.

Douglas Whalin
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Leonora Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The* Material for History *of Nikephoros Bryennios*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pp. xiv, 243.

If the twelfth-century Byzantine general and statesman Nikephoros Bryennios proved 'a most attractive personality' to his contemporaries,[1] the same cannot be said of his appeal among modern scholars, Antonio Carile being the notable exception. A decade ago Elizabeth Jeffreys was compelled to 'reconsider' Nikephoros, but saw little need to reassess his historical work, the *Material for History*; for her, and doubtlessly many others, the text remained 'a highly partisan account' of Bryennios' father-in-law Alexios Komnenos and homonymous grandfather during the period 1070–1080.[2] The established view is now contested in Leonora Neville's impressive new book, which proposes that the *Material for History* is a more complex work of literature than previously assumed.

The study's opening chapter hints that motivations other than a desire to glorify his extended family were behind Nikephoros' decision to draft a historical composition (pp. 13–28). Through skilful observations on gender, Neville dispels the popular perception of Nikephoros Bryennios as 'the passive and unambitious husband of Anna Komnene' (p. i) who balked at the prospect of becoming emperor when his wife and mother-in-law backed him to rule. Resisting the pervasive influence of Anna that has shaped prior assessments, Neville conceives of Nikephoros as a man with thwarted ambitions, painfully aware that his family might have ruled had Alexios Komnenos not defeated the rebellion of his grandfather. This compelling reappraisal of Nikephoros initially appears speculative, but is expertly substantiated by the author's subsequent readings in the *Material for History*.

The remainder of the first section offers a framework for detailed literary analysis by investigating trends in history-writing and works which influenced the composition of the *Material for History* (pp. 29–59). Intriguingly, Bryennios is suggested to have appealed to a contemporary interest in Roman history, drawing inspiration and models from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch and Polybius. The proposal is supported by recent scholarship, with Dimitris Krallis' research on the eleventh-century historian Michael Attaleiates – with whose work Nikephoros was almost certainly familiar – demonstrating that such an approach was not unique in this period. And as Krallis contends that Attaleiates believed Republican Rome offered models of virtue to which his own generation should aspire, and used allusions to Roman history to give

1 Elizabeth Jeffreys, 'Nikephoros Bryennios Reconsidered', in Vassiliki Vlyssidou (ed.), *The Empire in Crisis (?): Byzantium in the 11th Century (1025–1081)* (Athens, 2003) 213.

2 Ibid., 213.

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Leonora Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The* Material for History *of Nikephoros Bryennios*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pp. xiv, 243.

If the twelfth-century Byzantine general and statesman Nikephoros Bryennios proved 'a most attractive personality' to his contemporaries,[1] the same cannot be said of his appeal among modern scholars, Antonio Carile being the notable exception. A decade ago Elizabeth Jeffreys was compelled to 'reconsider' Nikephoros, but saw little need to reassess his historical work, the *Material for History*; for her, and doubtlessly many others, the text remained 'a highly partisan account' of Bryennios' father-in-law Alexios Komnenos and homonymous grandfather during the period 1070–1080.[2] The established view is now contested in Leonora Neville's impressive new book, which proposes that the *Material for History* is a more complex work of literature than previously assumed.

The study's opening chapter hints that motivations other than a desire to glorify his extended family were behind Nikephoros' decision to draft a historical composition (pp. 13–28). Through skilful observations on gender, Neville dispels the popular perception of Nikephoros Bryennios as 'the passive and unambitious husband of Anna Komnene' (p. i) who balked at the prospect of becoming emperor when his wife and mother-in-law backed him to rule. Resisting the pervasive influence of Anna that has shaped prior assessments, Neville conceives of Nikephoros as a man with thwarted ambitions, painfully aware that his family might have ruled had Alexios Komnenos not defeated the rebellion of his grandfather. This compelling reappraisal of Nikephoros initially appears speculative, but is expertly substantiated by the author's subsequent readings in the *Material for History*.

The remainder of the first section offers a framework for detailed literary analysis by investigating trends in history-writing and works which influenced the composition of the *Material for History* (pp. 29–59). Intriguingly, Bryennios is suggested to have appealed to a contemporary interest in Roman history, drawing inspiration and models from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch and Polybius. The proposal is supported by recent scholarship, with Dimitris Krallis' research on the eleventh-century historian Michael Attaleiates – with whose work Nikephoros was almost certainly familiar – demonstrating that such an approach was not unique in this period. And as Krallis contends that Attaleiates believed Republican Rome offered models of virtue to which his own generation should aspire, and used allusions to Roman history to give

1 Elizabeth Jeffreys, 'Nikephoros Bryennios Reconsidered', in Vassiliki Vlyssidou (ed.), *The Empire in Crisis (?): Byzantium in the 11th Century (1025–1081)* (Athens, 2003) 213.

2 Ibid., 213.

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his work additional meanings, Neville argues that Bryennios acted similarly, with the aforementioned Roman historians thought to 'provide the models for correct and incorrect behaviour that underlay some of Nikephoros' narrative constructions' (p. 41).

The 'narrative constructions' in question are analyzed in the study's second part, which presents a series of penetrative readings in the *Material for History* (pp. 61–170). Many of these prove crucial to Neville's central argument: that Bryennios employed a value system based on classical Roman ideals which he used to glorify his grandfather and, conversely, to undercut his *prima facie* support for Alexios Komnenos and his dynasty. By classical Roman military ethics, Alexios' adherence to a devious style of warfare classifies him as a cowardly trickster, however successful he may be. Alexios suffers by comparison with Nikephoros' grandfather and other leading generals, who, in spite of their failures, appear courageous heroes since they fight with directness and honesty, as a valiant Roman should. The readings are seen to present a negative image of Alexios, with Bryennios suggesting that his father-in-law lacked manly virtue in the classical Roman sense. The implications of this interpretation for our understanding of twelfth-century Byzantine politics and culture are explored in the final part of the study (pp. 171–203). Neville identifies the *Material for History* as a response to Nikephoros' disappointment at his own failure to rule, and a cathartic exercise since he could take solace in the knowledge that virtuous men, like his grandfather, did not always triumph, and, more importantly, had preserved their noble character by refusing to resort to the dishonest approach which had benefited Alexios Komnenos.

With the argument that the *Material for History* contains a subtle critique of Alexios – 'the most novel conclusion of the current reading of the text' (p. 177) – Neville breaks new ground in several respects. Rarely have Byzantine scholars considered the potential significance of military doctrine to character portrayals in historiography, or pondered the related idea that historians might have exploited cultural ideals of military behaviour. The innovative approach owes much to J. E. Lendon, author of several studies discerning the importance of literary and cultural models in ancient descriptions of battle. Observing similar tendencies in Middle Byzantine historiography, Neville offers a new assessment of the much-discussed relationship between Bryennios' history and that written by his wife Anna, with the *Alexiad* judged to have been 'not so much a continuation of her husband's (history) as a rebuttal' (p. 183). Anna's decision to appeal to imagery from ancient Greek rather than Roman culture is perceptively linked to her passionate defence of Alexios' Machiavellian military philosophy, as Hellenic society typically afforded precedence to victory of any sort over honour and individual prowess. A more accurate reading of the *Alexiad* would strengthen Neville's argument here, since Alexios loses several early battles through a hasty approach, only to enjoy more success in maturity once he adopts more considered tactics, reinforcing the conviction that Anna constructed a conscious defence of her father's military conduct. This slight criticism aside, Neville's decision to apply the study of war narratives to Byzantine historiography is both bold and inspired. With research into war writing deemed to offer 'enhanced literary insight',[3] one hopes others will see the benefits of analyzing other historical works in similar fashion.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude with the impression that this book is only of value to military or literary historians of Byzantium. Classicists too are encouraged to think of Nikephoros as 'a kindred spirit' (p. 205), and can gain much from witnessing how the Byzantines drew upon their rich cultural heritage. Ancient and medieval historians alike will therefore find much to appreciate in Neville's invaluable new study, which continues the trend of re-evaluating historical texts of the Middle Byzantine period by offering a challenging interpretation that should encourage further discussion of a neglected author and his work.

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Alicia Walker, *The Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012. Pp. xxvii, 260.

3 Kate McLaughlin, 'Introduction', in Kate McLaughlin (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to War Writing* (Cambridge, 2009) 1.

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Assessing the cities of Messenia in the newly-founded Greek Kingdom: the medieval walled town of Koroni based on early nineteenth-century architectural plans

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To Anna Christidou (1969–2013)
προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου

The article examines the fortifications and the settlement of Venetian and Ottoman Koroni (it. Coron), through the accurate record of early nineteenth century engineers of the newly-established Greek Kingdom. The basic plan was conducted in 1835 by the military engineer Metaxas, who recorded all the buildings, their function and current owners, including a proposal for the urban re-planning of the city. His work proved its usefulness, since an exact copy was made in 1856 by lieutenant colonel Manitakis. It was supplemented by a second plan produced in 1842 by the surveyor Friedrich Zerse who focused on the settlement beyond the walls. These plans are set within the framework of the administration's endeavours to assess and reorganize the cities of Messenia following wider town-planning aspirations and policies.

The history and changes that occurred in the settlements of Messenia during the early nineteenth century have not yet been adequately studied, not least in relation to the surviving architectural legacy.[1] It is generally believed that during the Greek War of Independence the major fortified cities of the western part of Messenia (e.g. Navarino/mod. Pylos, Methoni, Koroni, Arkadia/mod. Kyparissia) functioned as refuges for the local Muslim population, while those of the eastern part (known as the Exo [outer] Mani) were the lairs of the rebels.[2] As a result, the former were besieged and a number of

1 I would like to thank sincerely the director and the scientific personnel of the National Historical Museum and the Archive of MEECC for granting me access to their collections. My gratitude goes primarily to my colleagues and friends, I. Grigoropoulou, I. Spiliopoulou, J. Davis, S. Germanidou, N. Bouza, G. Kourmadas and S. Arvaniti for their precious suggestions, practical help and support.

2 For a general account of the events of the War of Independence relating to the castles of Messenia, see I. Diamantourou, 'Η εξάπλωση της επαναστάσεως κατά τον Απρίλιο και τον Μάιο. Επέκταση και ένταση των πολεμικών συγκρούσεων', in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, 16 vols (Athens 1975) vol. 12, 106, 121; A. Vakalopoulos, 'Η επανάσταση κατά το 1825', in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, vol. 12, 376, 378–81,

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them were finally occupied. From 1825 the province of Pylia functioned as an operational base of the Egyptian-Turkish forces under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, to be handed down in 1828 to the French expeditionary force under General Maison. Following the French withdrawal and the establishment of the Greek Kingdom in 1830, control of fortifications (or a number of them) was passed on to local guards who eventually abandoned them at different times. Similarly, the settlements within the walls were deserted by their inhabitants who preferred to transfer their activities and settle outside the fortresses.[3]

Only recently has (archival) research begun to gradually collect and employ all surviving information in order to reconstitute the medieval as well as the more recent historic background of the Messenian civic centres. It is through the study of this material that we can comprehend the adventures of the medieval settlements, from their continuous use during the Ottoman era to their final abandonment in the face of national political and social aspirations.

Within this framework, special emphasis should be placed on plans executed chiefly by military architects in the early years of the newly-founded Greek state that rigorously and meticulously recorded the current condition of all fortifications and the settlements within them. Their importance lies in their reliability, confirmed by the accurate depiction of surviving monuments, and the ample first-hand information they provide. They represented an effort of the administration to record on the one hand the kingdom's fortifications and assess the country's state of defense, and on the other hand to identify current urban conditions and suggest proposals for their future development.

The bulk of these plans is kept in the Archive of the Directorate of Topographic Applications, Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change (henceforth Archive of MEECC), formerly known as the Ministry of Environment, Planning and Public Works, or the Ministry of Planning, Housing and Environment. A small selection of plans depicting forts and fortified settlements found its way into the National Historical Museum, as part of an early twentieth century donation in the name of Lieutenant General Petros S. Lykoudis (1843–1913).[4] Finally, a large amount of material pertaining to the activities of the French Expeditionary Force (1828–32) and the Scientific Mission in the Morea (Expédition scientifique de Morée) is held in the collections of the Service Historique de la Défense (HSD, Dépôt de la Guerre) of the French Ministry of Defense; its publication is currently under way.[5]

Continued

382–3; G. Papathanasopoulos – Th. Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία, Οδοιπορικό στο χώρο και στο χρόνο* (Athens 2000) 65–73, 83–5; G. Nikolaou, 'Η Μεσσηνία στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας και του Αγώνα της Ανεξαρτησίας', in *Μεσσηνία, Τόπος-Χρόνος-Άνθρωποι* (Athens 2007) 208–17.

3 G. Kyriakopoulos, 'Παράλιες πόλεις, Καλαμάτα-Μεθώνη-Κορώνη-Πύλος-Κυπαρισσία, Αρχιτεκτονικές επιρροές', in *Μεσσηνία, Τόπος-Χρόνος-Άνθρωποι*, 254–7.

4 For the life and work of Petros Lykoudis, see P. S. Lykoudis, *Γενεαλογία-Βιογραφία-Έργα και το υπ'αυτού εφευρεθέν νέον σύστημα λυομένων πυροβόλων, Μέρος πρώτον: Γενεαλογία-Βιογραφία-Έργα υπό του αδελφού αυτού Εμμανουήλ Στ. Λυκούδη* (Athens 1923) 47–193. Also in http://www.elia.org.gr/EntryImages%5C1%5CΛΥΚΟΥΔΗ,%20ΟΙΚ.rtf, http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/58499.

5 G. Saitas (ed), *Το έργο της Γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής του Μοριά 1829-1838, Α΄ μέρος, Τμήμα φυσικών επιστημών* (Athens 2011).

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Fig. 1. The Castle of Koroni, aerial photo, view from the East (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Three plans representing Koroni form the subject of the present research (figs. 2–4). The text included in the plans is cited in the appendix. The walled town of Koroni in its current placement and formation dates from at least the thirteenth century onwards (fig. 1). It was primarily a Venetian colonial settlement, integrated in the Ottoman empire from 1500 until 1828, and briefly re-occupied by the Serenissima in the period 1685-1715, known as the Second Venetian Rule. Despite the multiple potential interpretations and questions that arise from the plans, our focus will be on the information concerning the medieval infrastructure and its perception by the nineteenth century planners within the framework of similar activities taking place throughout Messenia at the time.

The first plan was drawn in 1835 by the military engineer Metaxas, and merely records the fortified city with a key in French (fig. 2). The second one, produced in 1842 by the surveyor Friedrich Zerse, should be perceived as a supplement (fig. 3). Although it renders the fortifications and a schematic delineation of the blocks within the walls, it focuses on the settlement beyond the walls. Both plans attest to the acumen and observational skills of the draughtsmen. Slight differences and variations in details prove that the one did not merely copy from the other. The planners probably shared measurements or even worked concurrently using the same geographical background to the plan, yet they were both present on the spot and were first-hand witnesses of the monuments they

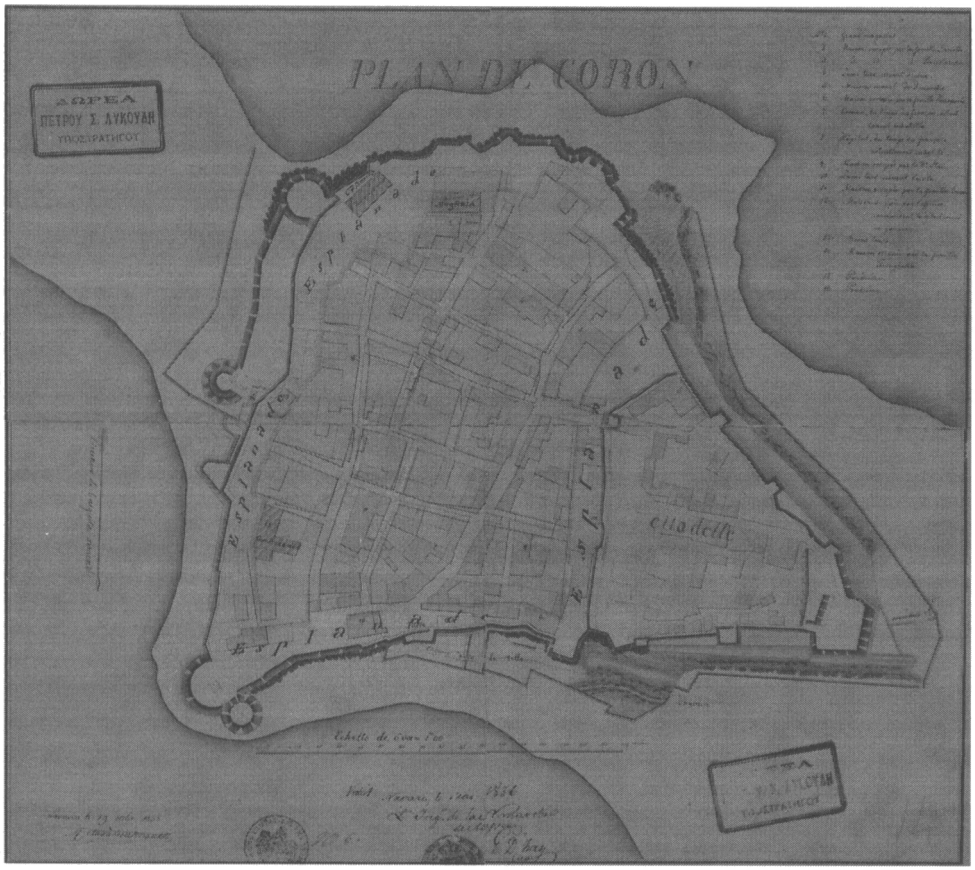


Fig. 2. Plan of Koroni by Metaxas (National Historical Museum, Athens).

recorded. These were, surprisingly, two separate endeavours whose specific circumstances remain unknown. The third plan, produced (or approved) in 1856 by Lieutenant Colonel Manitakis, is a simplified version of the Metaxas plan in Greek mainly focusing on the town within the walls; it confirms the usefulness of the original plan (fig. 4).

Fortifications and military premises

The castle of Koroni is divided into two parts: the smaller fort enclosure lies to the west, with the larger enclosure of the walled city to the East (figs. 1, 5.1–2).[6] This is a well-known formation pattern in all late medieval Venetian colonies, both in the Adriatic

6 For a description and short history of the monument, see K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* [Gennadeion Monographs IV] (Princeton 1953, repr. 2006) 11–23; N. Kontogiannis, 'Castle of Koroni', in *Venetians and knights Hospitalers : military architecture networks : Archi-Med Pilot Action* (Athens 2002) 68–71; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 110–17. For specific parts of the walls and the city, refered to in the following pages, see fig. 5.

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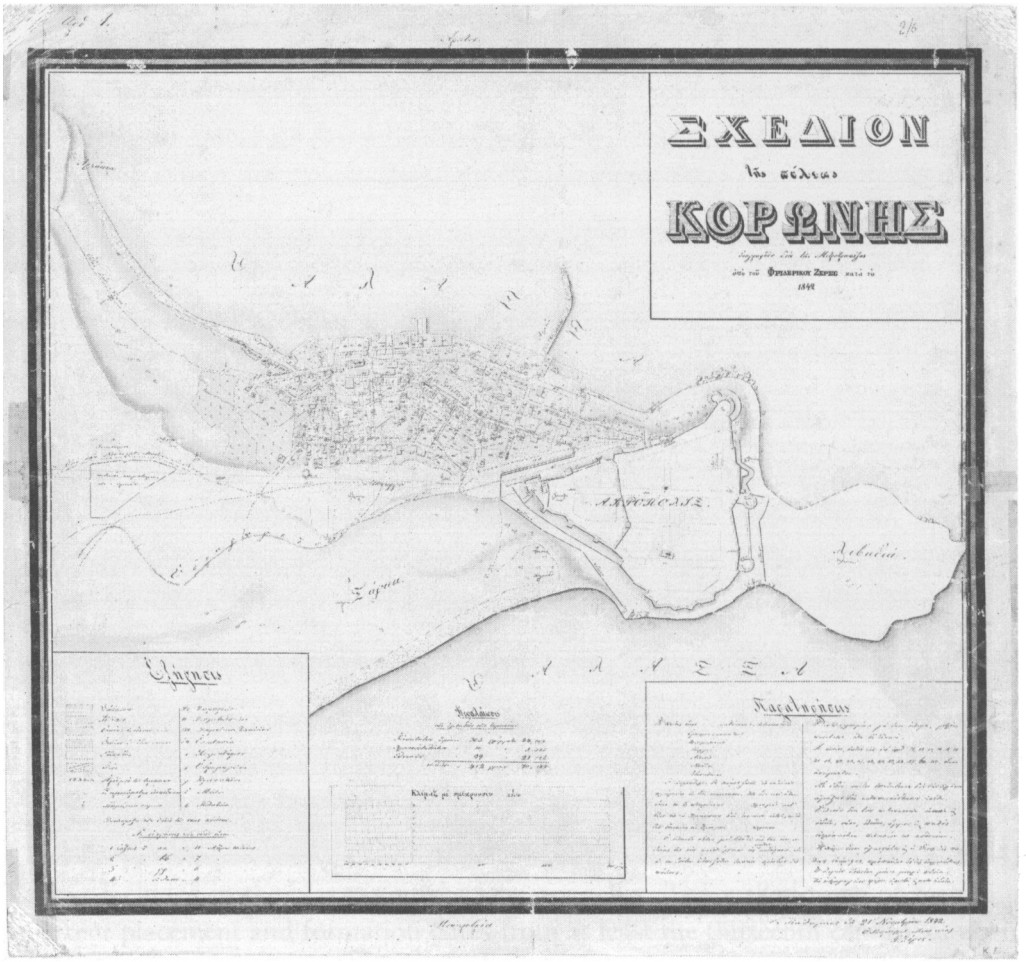


Fig. 3. Plan of Koroni by Zerse (Archive of MEECC).

and the Aegean areas. The two parts (fort-city) are divided by a transversal wall with rectangular towers that had been considered to be the sole remnant of the Byzantine fortification of Koroni (figs. 5.3, 6).[7] Zerse names the whole complex as 'citadel', while Metaxas gives the name only to the fort. The Manitakis plan is limited to the simple outline of the inner edge of the enclosure with only a few details.

The imprint of the walls, towers and bastions is rendered at battlement level, denoting the width of the masonry and the cannon embrasures that open up at regular intervals. A number of architectural details are documented in detail. They prove valuable for the understanding of the castle's military history, since their material evidence was completely destroyed or greatly changed afterwards. In particular:

7 Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 15–16.



Fig. 4. Plan of Koroni by Manitakis (Archive of MEECC).

1. There is an explicitly defined moat with a built spur (it. *contrascarpa*, counterscarp) that surrounds the whole triangular western half of the castle. This defensive element must constitute one of the last additions of the Second Venetian Rule (1685–1715), since it does not appear in the published plans of the period 1699–1701,[8] although its formation is closely connected to the erection of the Venetian West Bastion (figs. 5.4, 7). The whole north side of this moat that originally ended at the city's Main Gate (figs. 5.5, 8) is presently occupied by modern buildings almost to the foot of the walls, with a street running along its course. The moat's south part has been turned into a small park surrounding the later church of Panagia Eleistria (the Merciful Virgin).[9] Its counterscarp has also been replaced by modern structures. A single surviving stretch of the moat and the counterscarp can be identified with the help of the plans: it survives directly in front of the West Bastion with the moat serving as the modern Eleistrias Street, while the counterscarp is used as a retaining wall almost to its full height for the building of the municipal medical centre (the former Town Hall), preserved to a length of ca. 10 m (fig. 9).

8 Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, pl. I–II.

9 For the church of Panagia Eleistria and the events concerning its foundation (1897–900), see E. Tagonidi-Maniataki, *Ιερόν Προσκύνημα Παναγίας Ελεήστριας Κορώνης* (Athens n.d.).

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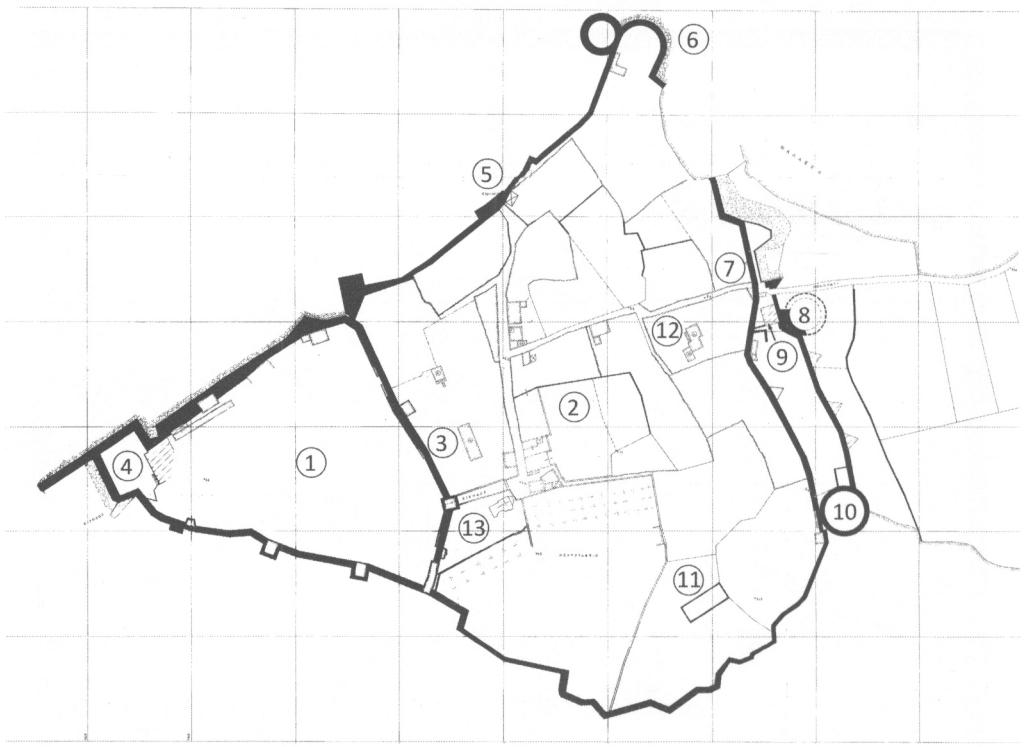


Fig. 5. Plan of Koroni. (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, reworked by G. Kourmadas, architect).
1. Fort enclosure; 2. City encolosure; 3. Transversal Wall; 4. West Bastion; 5. Main Gate; 6. Twin Bastion; 7. Livadia Gate; 8. Livadia Bastion; 9. Powder store-room; 10. Southeast Bastion; 11. Ayios Charalambos; 12. Ottoman Baths; 13. Ayia Sofia

2. Access to the city was made from the north, through a monumental medieval gateway which was also the ending point for the moat with its counterscarp (figs. 5.5, 8). As regards the formation of the wall in this area, which had since been totally changed by later interventions, evidence was limited until now to the two published engravings of the Expédition scientifique de Morée.[10] These were obviously based on first hand observations in 1829 by the members of the team, namely the designer Prosper Baccuet, whose original drawing is preserved in the Gennadius Library, Athens (fig. 10).[11] The drawing depicts two transversal walls defending access to the

10 The first in M. de Saint-Vincent et al., *Expédition scientifique de Morée, travaux de la section sciences physiques, Atlas 1831-1835* (Paris 1835), première série, pl. XIX.2, and the second (from a slightly different angle) in A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée, ordonnée par le gouvernement français* 1: *Architecture, sculptures, inscriptions et vues du Peloponèse, des Cyclades et del'Attique* (Paris 1831) pl. 17, fig. I; repr. in Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 16, fig. 5; Papathanasopoulos - Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 117, fig. 195.
11 For the work of Baccuet including the drawing of the Koroni Gate, see I. Viggopoulou, 'Απόψεις τοπίων. Τα χαρακτικά του Άτλαντα και τα σχέδια του Prosper Baccuet στο λεύκωμα της Γενναδείου Βιβλιοθήκης', in

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Fig. 6. Transversal Wall, exterior view (I. Grigoropoulou).



Fig. 7. West Bastion (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Main Gate, which is the only currently preserved part of the entrance complex. The outer wall was low with an opening to the middle, while the inner one had a barrel-vaulted gate

Continued

Saitas, *Το έργο της Γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής*, 88–98, esp. figs. 6.18–20. Also, J. L. Davis, 'Prosper Baccuet and the French *Expédition scientifique de Morée*: Images of Navarino in the Gennadius Library', in M. Georgopoulou – I. Solomonidi (eds.), *Hidden Treasures of the Gennadius Library* [The New Griffon 12] (Athens 2011) 57–69.

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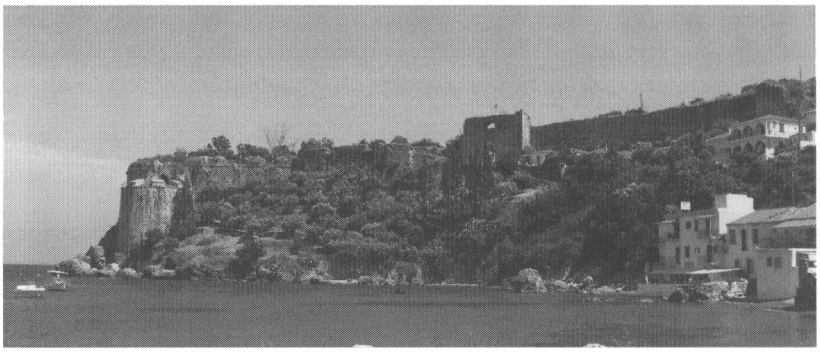


Fig. 8. The north side of the walls with the Twin Bastion (left) and the Main Gate (centre) (N. Kontogiannis).

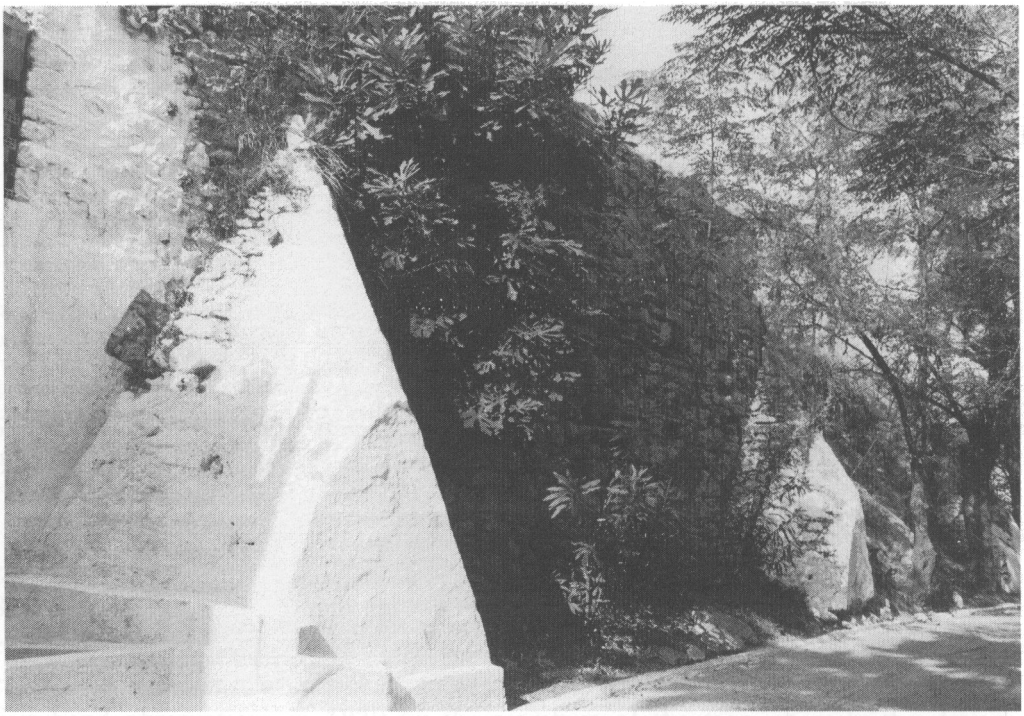


Fig. 9. Surviving part of the moat's counterscarp, present Eleistrias Street (Archive of the 26th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

with two sets of wooden doors at its extremities. A relief slab depicting the Lion of St. Mark was placed above this gate. The crenellation of the inner transversal wall was interrupted by gun-loops. In the background one can see the volume of the Main Gate along with a minaret, probably belonging to a mosque near the gate that no longer survives (see below, p. 232). Thanks to the plans, these features can now be fully understood and integrated within the broader fortification: the main access to the Castle was from the

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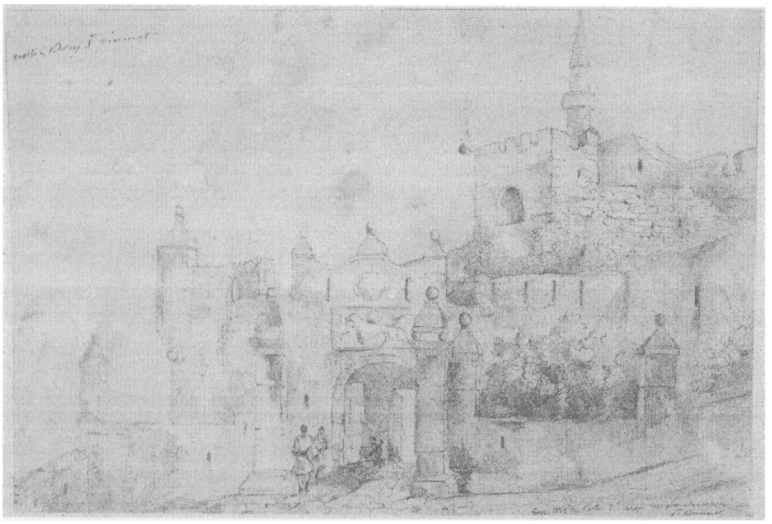


Fig. 10. The Main Gate, drawing by Baccuet (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

north, through an entrance at the counterscarp of the moat. From there on, one continued within the moat to the east, eventually reaching these two transversal walls which barred one's course and created a form of barbican for maximum protection. These constructions, based on their form and the presence of the Venetian relief, can be attributed to the Second Venetian Rule (early eighteenth century), obviously with later Ottoman additions (e.g. the crenellations).

3. The large West Bastion is among the architecturally intriguing parts of the Castle as it was the most vulnerable part of the enclosure, it was continuously improved with additional structures and finally left unfinished at the end of Venetian Rule in 1715 (figs. 5.4, 7). The plans record the surviving structures in detail with their successive obstacles; the postern gate that opened at the flank of the bastion; the half-ruined circular tower just to the inner part of the Bastion (noted as "ruins" in the Zerse plan, also fig. 11). Finally, the plans show also the site of Koroni's aqueduct which brought water to the walled city from the countryside to the west. In the Zerse plan the aqueduct split into three just before it reached the moat: the northern branch continued to the settlement outside the walls; the middle one ran along the north walls, following the axis of the moat, and reached the city through its Main Gate; finally, a third, shorter branch, stopped at the face of the West Bastion. Apparently the plan was for it to continue underground towards the settlement. Based on this information, we could identify a vaulted subterranean structure currently visible at the road surface of Eleistrias Street just in front of the west bastion, as a single remaining part of Koroni's aqueduct (fig. 12). Zerse informs us in the key of his plan that the aqueduct brings 'adequate and good' water.[12]

12 For the west bastion and the aqueduct see also, Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 21–3.

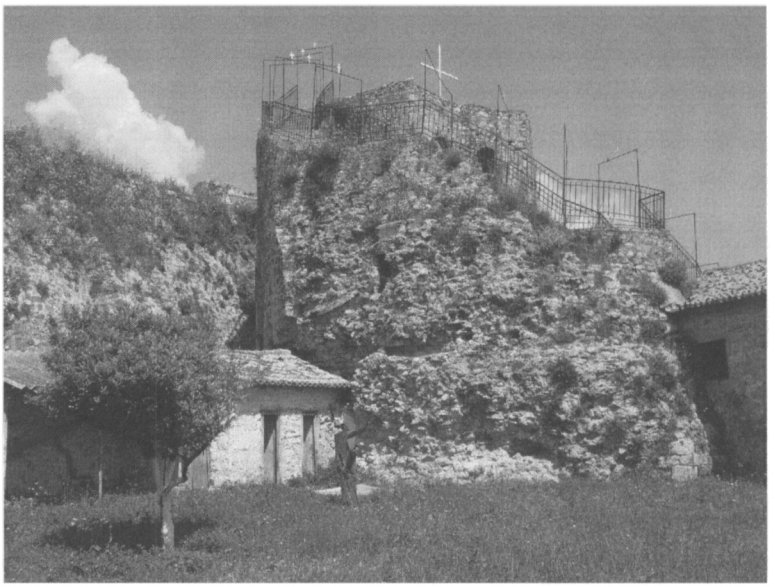


Fig. 11. The circular tower within the Fort (I. Grigoropoulou).

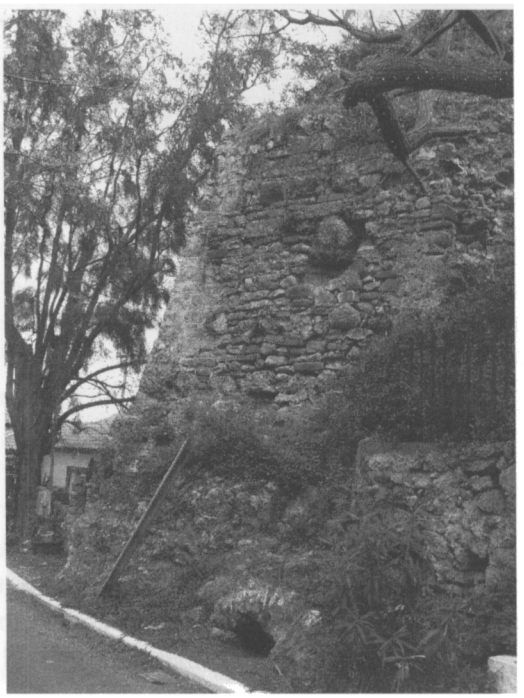


Fig. 12. West bastion, detail with subterranean vault (low) (I. Grigoropoulou).

4. Of equal importance is the accurate depiction of the eastern walls. Metaxas recorded them at battlement level, while Zerse added details from their lower structures:



Fig. 13. Livadia Gate, exterior view (I. Grigoropoulou).

these included the talus of the northern Twin Bastion that continued southwards to the Gate of Livadia (fig. 5.6–7); the existence of a fountain just at the foot of the walls, still present today even if only accessible by the sea; the existence of a postern gate to the inner side of the Southeast Bastion which has since disappeared due to wall collapse. The circular Livadia Bastion at the centre of the eastern walls, outside the Livadia Gate, can now be reconstructed with fair accuracy (figs. 5.7–8, 13–14): it was apparently the twin of the still standing Southeast Bastion (fig. 1[bottom], 5.10), both belonging to an exterior line of walls along with its own moat covering the vulnerable part of the Castle towards the Livadia area. These structures probably dated from the sixteenth century and represent Ottoman additions to the pre-existing medieval walls. The Livadia Bastion was used during the Second World War as an ammunition storehouse, and was subsequently blown up by the German forces during their withdrawal in 1944, severely damaging this side of the enclosure.[13] Consequently, the plans acquire special validity, being accurate reconstructions of this part of the Castle.

Military buildings that no longer survive are recorded by Metaxas and repeated by Manitakis in various parts of the walled city. They were always located at short distances from the walls, in order to be easily accessible in case of attack. Large barracks (*caserne*) and storerooms were found in the area near the Southeast Bastion. A second barracks was found near the transversal wall, facing the city. The key specifically mentions that the latter was built by the French, obviously following the installation of the French expeditionary force in the castle after 1828. In 1835 it lay empty. Close to the second

13 Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, 18–20; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 116–17.



Fig. 14. Livadia Bastion (I. Grigoropoulou).

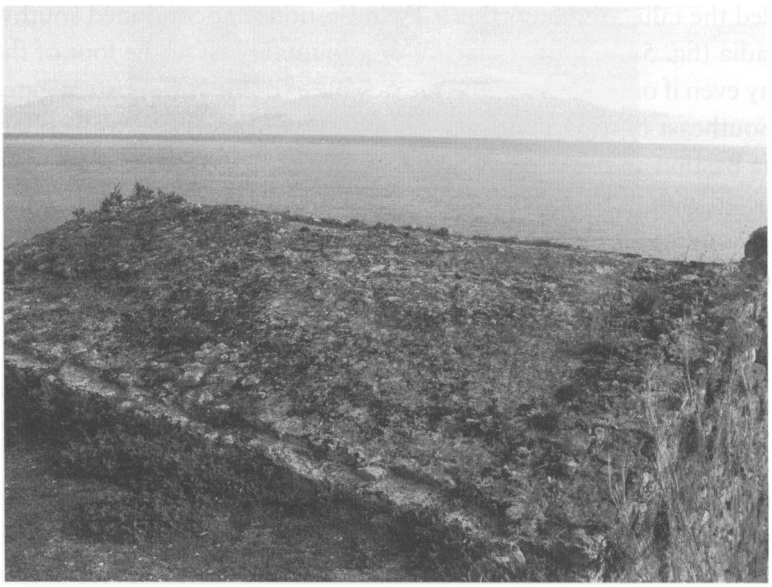


Fig. 15. Powder store-room at the Livadia Bastion (I. Grigoropoulou).

barracks, a powder store-room is noted, installed in the rectangular medieval tower of the Transversal Wall. A second powder store-room was to be found at the inner side of the Livadia Bastion (figs. 5.9, 15). This building is still preserved intact and can thus be securely identified: it is a rectangular structure covered with a barrel vault and strengthened by supporting arches. Its entrance is bent in a way to prevent direct contact with the

exterior and thus avoid potential accidents. In all probability, this is an earlier structure from the Second Venetian Rule whose use continued down to the nineteenth century.

Public and private buildings

Today the city-part of Koroni Castle is almost entirely covered by olive trees with only a handful of later standing buildings; the area of the fort is wholly occupied by the premises of the Timios Prodromos monastery (dedicated to John the Forerunner).[14] Until 1828, the Castle was inhabited solely by Turks, with the Greeks occupying the area next to the harbour, a settlement that was completely destroyed during the War of Independence. A year later (1829) Abel Blouet gave us a short description of the eminent Turkish houses of Koroni: 'Les principales maisons turques, à Coron, sont remarquables pour la richesse de leur decoration et la grandeur de leur disposition; les interieurs sont ornés de boiseries sculptées et peintes, ainsi que de vitraux de couleurs dont l'ensemble, d'un goût oriental, produit un bel effet'.[15]

Consequently, one of the key features of the 1835 plan is that Metaxas drew in detail the entire civic fabric within the walls at that time, which obviously preserved all the (Turkish) houses, identifying many of their (new) occupants and their functions in the accompanying memo written in French. It should be noted that the 1856 Manitakis plan simply reproduced the Metaxas one, while translating the accompanying legend into Greek. Its focus on the town buildings rather than the fortifications points to the fact that it was made in order to preserve a record of a still-functioning settlement and was probably used in dealing with civic issues.

An L-shaped complex at the northern end of the fort was occupied by the Karapoulo or Karapaulo family. A line of rectangular structures at the inner side of the transversal wall (at its central and south part) was designed with discontinuous lines. They are to be identified with large subterranean cisterns, which are still preserved within the monastery's precinct. Water supply by means of cisterns was vital in every medieval settlement in case of siege. The number of these structures probably points to a public use and poses a number of questions, such as, for instance, the source of water and the potential connection of the cisterns to the aqueduct.

Within the city enclosure, all individual buildings were designed with the boundaries of the properties, the stone walls and the paved streets that defined their limits. All of them have since perished, with a handful of exceptions. On the basis of the keys in the Metaxas and Manitakis plans, we can identify the residencies of the following individuals: Dariotti, Perivolaraki, Dova or Vourna, and Trighetta, along with that of 'Director Stai'.

These were obviously the most influential inhabitants, with a key role in local public affairs. In this light, a future thorough examination of archival sources may well shed

14 This is a nunnery that follows the old calendar, founded in the 1920s by the local monk Theodoulo (Georgio Anagnostopoulo).

15 Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, 16.

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more light on the recent history of the local society. For instance, it is known that when governor Ioannis Kapodistrias visited the city in 1829, he lodged at the residence of the rich merchant Dionisios Trighetta and his wife, Margarita.[16] Based on the plan, the Trighetta residence was located at the eastern part of the city, near the Livadia Gate. It is outlined as a large long-and-narrow complex with transversal wings, oriented to the east.

The following public buildings are also drawn on the Metaxas plan and are noted in its key, repeated in Greek in the later Manitakis copy:

1. 'Zami [mosque] turc servant d'église'. This refers to the present church of Ayios Charalambos which was initially constructed during the Second Venetian Rule in 1689 and originally dedicated to San Rocco, according to the dedicatory inscription that still survives in situ (figs. 5.11, 16).[17] The building was obviously transformed into a mosque in 1715, from which period the base of the minaret is preserved to the building's northwest corner. It reverted back to being a church after the War of Independence. The building is also represented in the Zerse plan, with a cross indicating its function. In 2012, the church was burned down and has not been restored. Fig. 16 represents its state before the fire.
2. The Town Hall, located directly opposite the entrance of Ayios Charalambos, in the area presently occupied by the city's cemetery.
3. The Hospital, which according to the legend was built by the French expeditionary force and lay empty after its departure.
4. 'Zami turc servant d'école'. This building is placed in the vicinity of the castle's main gate, its minaret probably depicted in the Baccuet drawing. It was converted into a school, as part of the school network founded in Messenia at the instigation of Kapodistrias, and probably functioned according to the widely spread Monitorial System.[18]
5. The residence of the commander of the guard, located near the Livadia Gate. In the Zerse plan the building is identified as an οἰκία ἐθνική (national residence).
6. Ottoman baths. The complex is still preserved in a ruinous state at the area of the Livadia Bastion, as depicted on the plan (fig. 5.12).

16 L. K. Fotiou, *Κορώνη. Η προσωπογραφία μιας πολιτείας* (Athens 1983) 246, who falsely identifies the Trighetta mansion with a house outside the walls, the present Malliou residence opposite the church of Agios Dimitrios; B. D. Marantos, *Η ιστορία της Κορώνης*, rev. ed. B. Rouvalis (Athens 2000) 92.

17 Papathanasopoulos - Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 111.

18 For the Monitorial, or Mutual instruction, or Bell-Lancaster Teaching Method in general, see http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/389525/monitorial-system [accessed 12/12/2011]. In Messenia, monitorial schools were functioning in the towns of Kalamata, Messini, Methoni, Filiatra, Gargalianoi, etc. (Nikolaou, 'Η Μεσσηνία στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας', 217). The Methoni school is one of the few buildings specifically constructed for this purpose outside the castle walls and still preserved within the modern settlement. See V. Albani, 'Καποδιστριακό Σχολείο Μεθώνης', *Πελοποννησιακά* 28 (2005–6) 118–28. For the implementation of the Monitorial System in Greece, see L. Papadaki, *Η αλληλοδιδακτική μέθοδος διδασκαλίας στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα* (Athens 1992); D. Harlan, 'British Lancastrian schools of nineteenth-century Kythera', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 106 (2011) 325–74.

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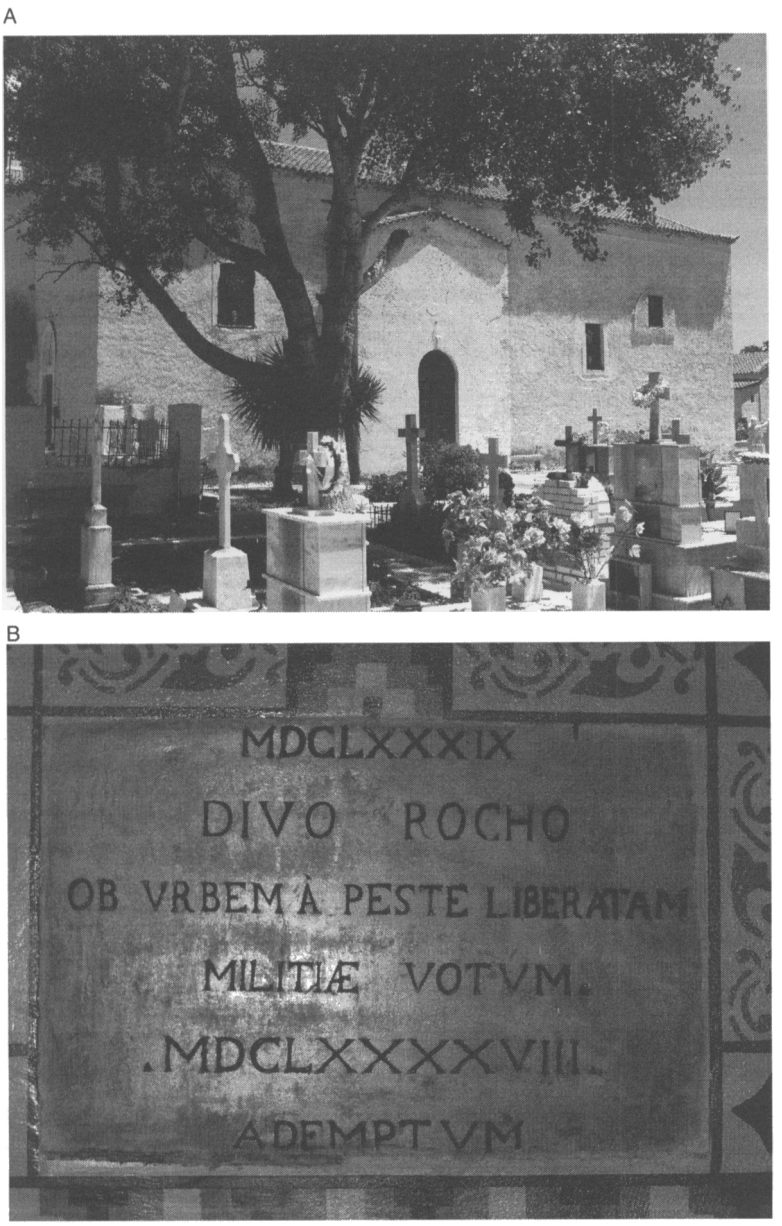


Fig. 16. Ayios Charalambos, A. exterior view, B. dedicatory inscription (I. Grigoropoulou).

It should also be noted that in the Zerse plan a number of the fort towers were depicted in pink which stood for private residencies, an indication that right after the War of Independence they were promptly occupied by individual owners. Furthermore, both Metaxas and Manitakis plans record the church that is currently known as Ayia Sofia (Holy Wisdom, figs. 5.13, 17), though they ignore it in their keys. This was a building of continuous religious use with successive construction phases. The area was

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Fig. 17. Ayia Sofia, view from the west (I. Grigoropoulou).

excavated by the Italians during the Second World War in their obvious quest for the temple of ancient Asini, though no record of their works survived. Instead, they revealed a sixth-seventh century basilica,[19] whose north aisle was occupied by what could be interpreted as an Islamic domed tomb (*türbe*) obviously from the period 1500–675 (First Turkish Rule). The building was reused and extended to the west during the Second Venetian Rule, thus ending with the present Ayia Sofia.

Identifying the authors

The first plan has two hand-written notes in the lower part. The first is the signature of its author, lieutenant Metaxas, with the date and place: Navarino, 29 (unknown word in the place of the month) 1835. It is obvious that having collected the necessary data from Koroni, he later worked and executed the plan at the Fortress of Navarino (known also as Niokastro or New Navarino, mod. Pylos), which served as seat of the local military commander.[20]

Lieutenant Metaxas should probably be identified with Gerasimos Metaxas (1816-1890), a military engineer and architect originating from a noble family of the

19 I. Stampoltzis, Παρατηρήσεις επί τριών χριστιανικών ναών της Μεσσηνίας, *Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Σπάρτη 7-14 Σεπτ. 1975*, τόμος Β΄: *Αρχαιότης και Βυζάντιον* [Πελοποννησιακά Παράρτημα 6] (Athens 1976–8) 268–70, pl. 93–6; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 111, fig. 183.

20 Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 86; I. M. Grigoropoulou – N. D. Kontogiannis, 'Οι ποινικές φυλακές στο Φρούριο Πύλου («Νεόκαστρον») μέσα από τις αρχειακές πηγές', *Πελοποννησιακά* 27 (2003–4) 73–6.

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Ionian Islands, and professionally active during the Ottonian period.[21] The fact that all notes and the key are written in French should probably be related to the education and the family origin of the author. Starting in 1834 he worked for the Department of Architecture of the Ministry of the Interior under the direction of Gustav Eduard Schaubert who is well known for the urban planning of the capital Athens. The department's main object was indeed the urban and architectural restructuring of the Kingdom's civic centres. In any case, our plan presents the only surviving proof of Metaxas' involvement with Messenia, in the very early years of his professional life. Between 1843 and 1854 he was head of the Cyclades division, and was responsible for the works at the jetty of the port of Syros and various other public buildings, such as the monumental church of Ayios Nikolaos and the covered fish and meat market in Ermoupoli.

Metaxas became actively involved in the capital in projects like king Otto's palace (the modern Parliament, 1836–42) and its adjacent Royal Gardens (mod. National Garden), the Ophthalmiatreio [eye clinic] of Athens (the north extension and an additional floor, 1868–9). He also designed a number of private residences, such as the Konstantinos Vouros residence in Athens (currently located at 5, Paparrigopoulou Street, dated 1859). Between 1863 and 1872 he was professor at the newly-founded Polytechnic School of Athens. Over many of his later years, he was Chief of the Military Household of King George I. He was one of the proponents of the architectural classicism of the nineteenth century.

According to the second hand-written note on the Metaxas plan, it was checked and confirmed by the engineer of the Prefecture of the Peloponnese (?), Captain E. D. Hay, for whom unfortunately no further information has been retrieved. The note is dated 4 May 1836, and the place is again the fortress of Navarino.

The second plan identifies its author in the head-title. It was made ἀπό τοῦ ΦΡΙΔΕΡΙΚΟΥ ΖΕΡΣΕ [sic] (Friedrich Zerse) in the year 1842, 'with the use of a plane table', indicating the accuracy of the work. A small two-line note at the lower right part of the plan, outside its frame, supplements this information: the plan was executed in Kalamata, on 21 November 1842 by the surveyor of Messenia, Friedrich Zerse. He was obviously of German extract, and belonged to the Bavarian administration that had functioned in the newly-established Kingdom until the expulsion of all foreign

21 Regarding the life and work of Gerasimos Metaxas, see K. Ch. Biris, *Ιστορία του Εθνικού Μετσοβίου Πολυτεχνείου* (Athens 1957) 500–1; M. Biris, 'Η ανασυγκρότηση της Αθήνας κατά την Οθωνική Περίοδο, Η αρχιτεκτονική των κτιρίων της (1832-1862)', in M. Z. Kasimati (ed.), *Αθήνα-Μόναχο, Τέχνη και Πολιτισμός στη νέα Ελλάδα*, exhibition catalogue (Athens 2000) 96–7, 101, 104; I. Traulos – A. Kokkou, *Ερμούπολη, η δημιουργία μιας νέας πόλης στη Σύρο στις αρχές του 19ου αιώνα* (Athens 1980) 67, 69–70, 81, 88, 95, 115, 118–20; 'Μνήμη άλλων ελλήνων τεχνικών επιστημόνων', in P. Kiriazis (ed.), *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες περιόδου απελευθέρωσης* (Athens 1976) 296. Also in the following sites: http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/58097, http://www.eie.gr/archaeologia/gr/arxeio_more.aspx?id=202, http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/gh251.jsp?obj_id=1760, http://www.cityofathens.gr/el/istoria-toy-ethnikoy-kipoy/istoria-toy-ethnikoy-kipoy, [accessed 15/9/2011].

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civil servants, following the constitution of 1844.[22] He should be identified with one Ζέρτσε, mentioned in an evaluation memo of the Department of Surveyors personnel that was submitted to the Minister of the Interior by D. A. Guebhard on 28 May 1843. According to the memo, Ζέρτσε came from Hanover and entered the Department in 1836.[23]

The third plan clearly states at its bottom-left key that it was copied from the original (obviously referring to the Metaxas plan) on 16 November 1856 and is signed by the Head of the Public Works Department, Lieutenant Colonel Manitakis. It could be that he was not the author, but rather the one who authorized and certified the copy. Emmanuel Manitakis (or Manitaky, 1809–83) is another well-known military engineer of the nineteenth century.[24] He was recruited by Kapodistrias in 1829 with the rank of lieutenant as member of the newly founded 'Σῶμα τῶν ἐπί τῆς ὀχυρωματοποιίας καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἀξιωματικῶν' (Corps of officers in charge of fortifications and architecture).[25] He served on in the Corps of Engineers founded by king Otto in August 1833,[26] and remained in the public sector occupying the position of Director of Public Works at the Ministry of the Interior from 1845 onwards. In 1859 he compiled a handbook containing all laws and regulations concerning the Corps of Engineers, while in 1866 he published an account defending the material progress of the Greek Kingdom in the sectors of urban planning, finances, roads and harbours, shipping and commerce.[27] Among the few works that are specifically attributed to him, is the plan of Lamia.

Re-planning the walled town of Koroni

As already mentioned, the Metaxas plan contains, on the one hand, the actual state of the walled city, and on the other, the proposals for its future development. This was achieved

22 See E. Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (Cambridge 2000) 21; V. Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'City form and national identity: urban designs in nineteenth-century Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1995) 109.

23 General State Archives, Ottoman Archive, φ.240; K. Kaukoula – N. Papamichos – V. Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα* (Thessalonike 1990) 41–2, n. 9.

24 Information about the life and works of E. Manitakis comes mainly from his obituary in *Ποικίλη Στοά Δ΄* (1884) 439–41. See also I. Travlos – A. Kokkou, 'Πολεοδομία και Αρχιτεκτονική', in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, vol. 13 (Athens 1977), 518–21; http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/57666 [accessed 15/12/11].

25 Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 45; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 38–9, 47; Kokkou, 'Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση', 360.

26 For the organization of the civil administration concerning public works during this period, see Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 39–42, 47–9; A. Kokkou, 'Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση στην περίοδο 1828-1843, κρατική πολιτική και πραγματικότητα', in *Νεοελληνική πόλη: οθωμανικές κληρονομιές και ελληνικό κράτος, πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ιστορίας, Αθήνα 26-28 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984, Ερμούπολη 29-30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984* (Athens 1985) 361–2.

27 Ἐγχειρίδιον τοῦ Μηχανικοῦ Σώματος, *ἤτοι Συλλογή νόμων, βασιλικῶν διαταγμάτων, ὑπουργικῶν ὁδηγιῶν κλπ. Περί τῆς διοικητικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ Σώματος αὐτοῦ, and Aperçu sur les progrès matériels de la Grèce*. See also Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 67–8; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 79–80; Kokkou, 'Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση', 363.

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through the co-existence of two layers of design. The first layer, the substratum of the plan, represented what the author was able to view at the time. The outlines of all the buildings both of the City and the Fort, as well as their precincts, were rendered in black ink, as opposed to the grey used for the fortifications. Roofed premises are sketched in light pink, obviously relating to their tiled-covered appearance.

The second layer of design overlies the first, exclusively in the City part of the plan: the settlement is enveloped with a bold yellow line, designating a distinct free zone between the settlement and the walls, which is named four times as 'esplanade'. Within the yellow framework, building blocks are delineated with pale ochre colour. The street grid separating the blocks remained white.

This layer of design with the yellow-ochre colour, the blocks and street grid, along with the peripheral free zone, did not correspond to existing conditions in 1835: the street grid passes over buildings of the underlying layer, there is a series of houses in the peripheral zone, while the blocks exclude parts of the premises which are lying beyond their borders. It is therefore evident that this layer of design constitutes a proposal for the future urban formation of Koroni in its current placement within the walls. All this information was altogether omitted in the later Manitakis copy which simply transcribed the layout of the existing premises and street grid.

The Zerse plan, on the other hand, used the same method as Metaxas to depict the settlement that grew outside the walls of Koroni. Sketches in various colours represented the existing structures and their features. Yellow was again used for the proposals and the future re-planning of the street-grid. As for the area within the walls, the author filled the space with the rectangular-trapezoidal blocks of his proposed grid and street pattern with no notion to existing structures. He exempted, as mentioned above, Ayios Charalambos and the Commander's headquarters. Comparison with the actual situation as noted by Metaxas, proves that he simply filled the space with a geometric pattern bordered by the lines of the walls.

Urban planning in nineteenth-century Messenia or *The passage from barbarity to civilization* (S. Bulgaris, 1832)[28]

Though lacking further evidence about this endeavour, we should view the Koroni plans as part of the wider conflicting policies that developed in the newly established Greek state. Starting from the period of Kapodistrias and greatly accelerating during the rule of king Otto, urban planning of the kingdom's pre-existing civic fabric was imperative in order to assess existing conditions, rebuild and revitalize its centres. At the same time fortified cities which had played an important role in the War of Independence, did not generally lose their military function: many of them continued as active army bases well into the nineteenth century, while others were converted into jails. Indeed in

28 For Bulgaris, see P. Kiriazi, 'Σταμάτης Βούλγαρης, ο αγωνιστής, ο πολεοδόμος, ο άνθρωπος', in Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες*, 151–65.

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order to comprehend the way the early Greek state dealt with its inherited civic infrastructure, one should bear in mind the interaction between an initially predominant but gradually failing military function and the need to refurbish existing civic structures in order for them to comply with the aspirations and the mentality of the new kingdom. The fact that public works were carried out by a rudimentary administration predominantly staffed with military engineers, only added to this interaction.

In the short period of governor Kapodistrias (1828–31) an impressive number of planning projects were either completed or programmed, under the direction of Stamati Bulgari (1775–843), mainly for the cities of the Peloponnese, such as Nauplion, Patras, Argos, and Tripoli. The authors were mostly foreigners, among them the French engineers of the expeditionary force under general Maison that arrived in the Navarino area in 1828.[29]

The latter were especially active recording the land and its settlements, while also reconstructing bridges, roads, defenses, aqueducts etc.[30] Their contribution was paramount in the area of Messenia, in order to re-settle the population that was largely left bereft following the devastating activities of the Turk-Egyptian forces under Ibrahim Pasha.

In Methoni (it. Modon), it was decided to transfer the population to an area outside the walls, while pulling down all surviving houses within the enclosure in order to re-use the building materials. The fortress preserved its role as their military base, with its bridge over the moat rebuilt and the commander's headquarters redressed in order to receive a state visit by Kapodistrias himself.[31] On the occasion, he approved and signed the plan of the new city (based on their larger plan of the whole area), entitled 'Plan des Environs de Modon' and dated 4 May 1829.[32] At the time it housed 3,625 inhabitants, and had a

29 Travlos – Kokkou, 'Πολεοδομία και Αρχιτεκτονική', 515; Kokkou, 'Η πολεοδομική ανασυγκρότηση', 359–60; Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 43–50; Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'City form and national identity', 106; F. Pajor, *Eretria – Nea Psara, eine klassizistische Stadtanlage über der antiken Polis* [Eretria XV, Ausgrabungen und Forschungen] (Athens 2006) 111; *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900, Στα πλαίσια του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου «Νεοελληνική Πόλη» που οργανώνεται από την Εταιρεία Μελέτης Νέου Ελληνισμού Αθήνα 27/9-4/10/1984* (Athens 1984) 7–9; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 37–8, 77. Especially for Nauplion and Tripoli see the articles of V. K. Dorovinis, 'Ο σχεδιασμός του Ναυπλίου κατά την καποδιστριακή περίοδο (1828-33)', and P. Tsakopoulos, 'Τρίπολη: πολεοδομική, μορφολογική μελέτη της μετάβασης απ'την οθωμανική στη νεοελληνική πόλη', in *Νεοελληνική πόλη*, 287–96 and 297–325 respectively.

30 For the work of the French Expeditionary Force and the related Scientific Mission (Expédition scientifique de Morée) see the publication of Saitas, *Το έργο της Γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής*; and esp. the article of P. Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου: αποτυπώσεις οικισμών και πολεοδομικά σχέδια', 76–86 for their contribution in the urban planning. For their building activity, T. Demodos, 'Ο πρώτος δημόσιος δρόμος στην Ελλάδα', in Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες*, 228–30.

31 Related by J. B. G. M. Bory de St. Vincent, *Relation du voyage de la commission scientifique de Morée dans le Péloponnèse, les Cyclades et l'Attique, tome premier* (Paris 1836) 339–48. Also, Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, 11–12, 16, pl. 12; N. D. Kontogiannis- I.M.Grigoropoulou, *Το κάστρο της Μεθώνης* (Athens 2009) 19–20, 38–9, 48–9.

32 Archive of MEECC. Also, *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 13, nr.3; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 199; Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες*, 322; Tsakopoulos, 'Η

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fan-shaped grid pattern that spread outwards from the castle peninsula. The aim was to create a new orthogonal grid, regulating pre-existing irregular street patterns.[33]

In Navarino, the first attempt of the French engineers was to restructure the old fortified city, while housing also a part of the population near the harbour outside the walls. The surviving plan for the walled city was apparently never implemented.[34] On the other hand their proposal for the nucleus of the modern Pylos at the harbour proved a success, meeting the pressing needs of a population of refugees residing in wooden huts and unhealthy conditions.[35] It was entitled 'Plan de la ville basse de Navarin', executed in Navarino on 26 December 1830 and approved in Nauplion on 15 January 1831 by the governor Kapodistrias.[36] The new city obviously flourished and soon outgrew its original core, creating a need for a plan of an enlarged city (entitled 'Σχέδιον πόλεως Νεοκάστρου'), which was approved in the name of king Otto by queen Amalia on 5 July 1861.[37]

Finally, the French engineers produced a plan of the Koroni peninsula in 1829.[38] It recorded the geography of the area, the settlement outside the walls, and the general layout of the Castle. Were they also intending to pursue a new urban planning of the medieval settlement, as they did in the previous cases and elsewhere in the Peloponnese? Was this plan known or used by Metaxas and Zerse? These questions cannot be answered with any certainty due to lack of evidence, yet it would not seem irrational to assume that the French work could well have served as background for the slightly later plans by the engineers in the service of the newly-founded Kingdom, since they all faithfully recorded existing conditions working virtually side-by-side.

During king Otto's rule, the process of urban planning and modernization was greatly accelerated, including almost all pre-existing cities (such as Thebes, Naupaktos,

Continued

αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου', 80–1, figs. 5.8, 5.10 and Π3.6. The city continued to grow and a second plan with the extension was drawn in 1880, currently preserved at the same archive.

33 Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 46.

34 It is preserved in two copies, one in the National Historical Museum, Athens (N. D. Kontogiannis, 'Πληροφορίες για το Νιόκαστρο Πύλου μέσα από τα σχέδια των στρατιωτικών μηχανικών του 17ου-19ου αιώνα', in *Ανταπόδοση, Μελέτες Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης προς τιμήν της καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δελληγιάννη-Δωρή* [Athens 2010] 215–16, 223, fig.12), and the second in the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris (Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου', 86, fig. Π3.5).

35 Vividly depicted in the drawings of Prosper Baccuet, published in J.Bennet, J.L.Davis, D. K. Harlan, 'The fortress of Anavarin-i Cedid', in F. Zarinebaf, J. Bennet, J. L. Davis (eds.), *A Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece, The Southwestern Morea in the 18th Century* (Princeton 2005) 254, figs.III.16–7.

36 Archive of MEECC. Also, Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 46–7, fig. 8; *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 14, nr. 6; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 215; Kiriazis, *Πρώτοι έλληνες τεχνικοί επιστήμονες*, 323. A copy of this plan is preserved in the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris (Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου', 80, fig. 5.7).

37 Archive of MEECC. See also *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 24, nr. 53; Papathanasopoulos – Papathanasopoulos, *Πύλος-Πυλία*, 91–2.

38 Tsakopoulos, 'Η αναγνώριση του αστικού χώρου' 80, Folio 66. The plan was drawn by Michaux based on the plans of Cavagnac, and is currently kept in the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris (Cartes/4.10.C.81.0001).

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Lamia, Chalkida etc.). New – mainly coastal – cities were also designed and founded, such as Eretria, Aidipsos and Karystos (then Othonopolis) in Euboia, or Ermoupolis in Syros.[39] At the same time, the military administration continued to use older fortified settlements as army bases, command stations or military outposts. Although largely understudied as a subject, the kingdom's garrisons were stationed not only in the frontier cities, e.g. Lamia,[40] but also in a number of Peloponnese centres, like Nauplion (in the castle of Akronauplia).[41]

In Messenia, a number of earlier walled towns were used by the military, such as the castles of Methoni and Navarino, with the former gradually abandoned and the later finally turned into a penitentiary prison.[42] The government's city-planning efforts were centered on the development of the area's capital, Kalamata. The first recorded plan of the city, dated to 1836, represented in detail the post-medieval settlement situated away from the sea and surrounding the outcrop of its castle. The privileged position of the nearby coastal area along the harbour was soon acknowledged, and a new settlement (Coast of Kalamata, παραλία Καλαμῶν) quickly spread and was recorded in a number of plans dating from 1860 onwards.[43]

Another coastal settlement, Marathos, developed at the western shores of Messenia, serving as the port for the agricultural products of nearby Gargalianoi and Filiatra. Its plan was approved by the king on the 20th October 1859. The consistent policy of

39 Travlos – Kokkou, 'Πολεοδομία και Αρχιτεκτονική', 515–19; Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 22–3, 56–9, 61–4; Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'City form and national identity', 101, 105–8; *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 9–11; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 78–9, 98, 143, 168, 178, 164, 227 (plans reproduced from the Archive of MEECC). For Ermoupolis, see Travlos – Kokkou, *Ερμούπολη*, 25–32, and esp. 64–8. For Eretria, see Pajor, *Eretria – Nea Psara*. For Chalkida, see S. Kokkinis – G. P. Gikas, 'Το πρώτο πολεοδομικό διάγραμμα του «Κάστρου» της Χαλκίδας και κατάλογος των κτισμάτων', *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών* 19 (1974) 277–91. For the pre-eminence of coastal sites, see M. Sinarellis, 'Réseau routier et état Grec', in *Νεοελληνική πόλη*, 376.

40 M.-Ph. Papakonstantinou, *Το κάστρο της Λαμίας* (Athens 1994) 10–11, 21–2.

41 A highly interesting document in this respect, dated in 1834, is kept in the General State Archives of Argolid, Nauplion. Entitled: 'Γενικαί ὁδηγίαι διά τήν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ φρουρίου Ναυπλίας κ(αί) τῶν ἄλλων φρουρίων' (Αρχείο Δημογεροντίας Φ. 6.4), it lists the daily duties and services of an active military base of the early Greek kingdom. I would like to thank I. Spiliopoulou for bringing the document to my attention and the Director of the Archives, Mr. Georgopoulos, for his warm hospitality and sharing of his knowledge on local history.

42 For Methoni, see Kontogiannis – Grigoropoulou, *Το κάστρο της Μεθώνης*, 19. For the Navarino (Niokastro) prison, see Grigoropoulou – Kontogiannis, 'Οι ποινικές φυλακές στο Φρούριο Πύλου («Νεόκαστρον»)' 74–7.

43 All in the Archive of MEECC. The Coast of Kalamata plans bear the following dates: 1860, 13 July 1867, 6 September 1868, 29 June 1898, 29 August 1893, 28 November 1895, 25 August 1900, etc. See also, *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 26, nrs. 62–3; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 173, 175. For the urban development of Kalamata during the nineteenth century see I. K. Spiliopoulou, 'Η πολεοδομική και αρχιτεκτονική εξέλιξη της Καλαμάτας από τα προεπαναστατικά χρόνια έως την περίοδο του μεσοπολέμου. Η τύχη της πόλης μετά τους σεισμούς' in G. Xanthaki-Karamanou, A. N. Doulaveras, I. K. Spiliopoulou (eds.), *Μεσσηνία: Συμβολές στην Ιστορία και τον Πολιτισμό της, Αφιέρωμα* (Athens 2012) 665–70.

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founding harbours and enhancing towns continued in Messinia well into the following reign of George I, with examples ranging from the important Kyparissia to the minor site of Bouka Pamisou.[44]

The politics and ideologies that instigated the process of town-planning in the early history of the Greek kingdom, as well as its actual implementation, have been a matter of considerable research.[45] According to these, from the economic point of view, the new kingdom needed urban centres to act as growth drivers, to invite and settle Greek populations from outside the frontiers, to facilitate agricultural production and transportation improvements. From the political point, the interventions aimed to reflect the new national identity, the continuation of a classical past devoid of Ottoman remnants; to establish central authority within a regime of absolute monarchy; to set principles and dictate organizational patterns that would unify the built environment of Greece creating an impression of a European state in a Levantine setting.

On a practical level, this led to uneven results, deriving from the dynamic process between government initiative and citizen involvement. Nevertheless, it followed in general the same guidelines: an effort was always evident to adhere to basic geometric urban patterns. The weight was set on public and state buildings that would function as the city's focal points from which streets and blocks would radiate. It was attempted to create central spaces with public character, such as open squares, as well as recreational areas with gardens and promenades. Most of the kingdom's cities were located in coastal sites and natural harbours, since communication was mainly conducted through sea routes, due to the lack of land roads.

In the case of the Koroni plans, kernels of all these driving forces and directions are detected. The aim was not to revitalize a devastated settlement, but to configure a medieval infrastructure with the typical narrow alleys and the compounded clusters of buildings, a part of which had outgrown its fortified enclosure moving closer to the port. Metaxas focused on the medieval town by setting a grid pattern and creating a free peripheral zone. The later would act as a recreational space in the spirit of nineteenth-century gardens. He also recorded all public buildings that played a central role in the infrastructure of the city and the circulation of the inhabitants. Furthermore, he noted the houses of the key citizens, the ones that were expected to have an active part in the local social, commercial and administrative affairs. His effort was supplemented by Zerse, who focused on the settlement outside the walls.

44 Archive of MEECC. See also *Έκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900*, 27–8, nrs. 67–8, 72–3, 75; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 95–7, 158, 176, 187, 201, 226.

45 Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'City form and national identity', 99–110; Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens*, 43–4, 47–8, 51–3, 60–1; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 21–5, 33, 60–6, 113–18; A. Karadimou-Gerolympou, 'Σχεδιασμός και ανάκτηση του χώρου της πόλης', in *Νεοελληνική πόλη*, 383–8; P. Tsakopoulos, 'Ελληνική πόλη και νεοκλασικισμός, η ελληνική πολεοδομία στον 19° αιώνα', in Lagopoulos, A. -F. (ed.), *Η ιστορία της ελληνικής πόλης* (Athens 2004) 373–82; Pajor, *Eretria – Nea Psara*, 66–8.

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Nevertheless, they both paid considerable attention to the fortifications of the city. They recorded them in great detail, noting the gates, posterns, canon embrasures, towers and bastions. One can surely conclude that this was still an active military installation, or at least one that could be used as such in case of danger. The fact that the Manitakis plan almost ignored the walls focusing only on the settlement proved that the enclosure had gradually lost its military importance, being downgraded in junction to that of a simple stone fence.

There is no evidence indicating that the proposals for the medieval town and its new street grid were ever approved or enforced. In any case, they were probably overcome by local conditions and historic evolution. In the later half of the nineteenth century the settlement was wholly transferred outside the walls by the sea, following its economic growth as an important harbour and an outlet of agricultural products, namely olive oil. To that end, a new extension of the city was approved on 3 April 1889.[46] The houses of the old medieval town were gradually left to decay and disappeared finally, though property titles were still maintained.

The plans of the walled town of Koroni should therefore be envisaged as the result of a significant and rigorous, though short-lived, effort by the services of the newly-established Greek Kingdom to record and modernize the existing conditions of an active settlement, including well-maintained fortifications, private and public buildings. They were drawn in an effort to suggest an urban intervention in order to improve the form and function of the civic fabric in the aftermath of the War of Independence, along the guidelines of the wider political and social culture of the day. Even though the achievement of their goal remains in doubt, they proved a fortunate attempt since they accurately documented a fortified settlement that no longer exists, a monumental complex that went through centuries of change and intervention, reaching our times virtually unknown.

APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF PLANS WITH TRANSCRIPTION OF LEGENDS

1. *Title*: PLAN DE CORON **Fig. 2**

Dimensions: 45 cm. height x 50, 5 cm. width.

Provenance: National Historical Museum, Athens, Plan Collection (Lykoudis Archive) no. 13620/88.

Date: 1835

Key: (*in a column at the upper right side*) No. 1. Grand magasin / 2. Maison occupée par la famille Dariotti / 3. id. id. id. Perivolaraki / 4. Zami turc servant d'église / 5. Maison servant de Dimarchie / 6. Maison occupée par la famille Karapoulo / 7. Caserne du temps des français, actuel / lement inhabitée. / 8.Hôpital, du temps des français, / actuellement inhabité. / 9. Maison occupée par le Dr. Stai. / 10. Zami turc servant d'école. / 11. Maison occupée par la famille Dova (?) / 12. Maison occupée par

46 Archive of MEECC. For the urban fabric and the buildings of modern Koroni, see P. Grigorakis – S. Migadi – D. Charalambous, 'Μεθώνη – Κορώνη', in D. Philippidis (ed.), *Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική, τόμος τέταρτος: Πελοπόννησος Α΄* (Athens 1985) 55–74.

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l'officier / commandant le détachement / en garnison. / 13. Bains turcs / 14. Maison occupée par la famille / Tringhetta / 15. Poudrière. / 16. Poudrière.

(Low left corner) Navarin le 29 106v. 1835 / *(signature)* Metaxà Lieutenant

(Below the plan, to the right of the previous, circular stamp with emblem and adjoining inscription) _ _ _ ΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤ. ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΩΝ

(Below the plan, to the right of the previous): Vidit. Navarin 4 Mai 1836 / L' ing. de la Nomarchie / <duloponis> / E. D. Hay / Capit. / *(Circular stamp with emblem and adjoining inscription)* _ _ _ _ _ _ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΔΙΟΙΚ. ΤΟΥ _ _ _ _

(At the upper left and the low right corner rectangular stamp with blue ink) ΔΩΡΕΑ / ΠΕΤΡΟΥ Σ. ΛΥΚΟΥΔΗ / ΥΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ.

Designer: Metaxas

N.B From the two circular stamps that accompany the notes, the first depicts in full formulation the royal emblem of the Ottonian period, as it was defined in the Royal Decree 947, dated 26 January/7 February 1933: in the middle, escutcheon with a silver cross and the Bavarian coat-of-arms in the centre, set in ultramarine background. It is supported by heraldically placed lions, golden and crowned, and above it, there is a closed royal crown. The whole scheme is set in front of a purple mantle, also bearing a royal crown.[47] The inscription surrounding the emblem suggests that the stamp belonged to the Ministry of Military Affairs.

The second stamp has the same emblem in larger scale, bearing one more royal crown and surrounded by two laurel branches. The only legible words of the surrounding inscription refer to a Royal Command.

2. *Title*: *(upper right corner, within a rectangular frame)* ΣΧΕΔΙΟΝ / τῆς πόλεως / ΚΟΡΩΝΗΣ / διαγραφθὲν διὰ τῆς Μετροτραπέζης / ὑπὸ τοῦ ΦΡΙΔΕΡΙΚΟΥ ΖΕΡΣΕ κατὰ τὸ / 1842 **Fig. 3**

Dimensions: 57 cm. height x 62 cm. width.

Provenance: Archive of MEECC.

Date: 1842

Key: *(lower left corner, within a rectangular frame)*

Ἐξήγησις / *(left column)* [rectangle with blue colour] θάλασσα / [rectangle with brown colour] Κῆποι / [rectangle with manganese colour] Οἰκίαι εἰς ἐθνικὴν γῆν / [rectangle with pink colour] Οἰκίαι εἰς ἰδιοκτησίας / [colourless rectangle] Γήπεδον / [rectangle with lines] Ὁδοί / 1.2.3.4... Ἀριθμοὶ τῶν τεμαχίων / [numbers in pink, barely visible] Σημειόμετρα ἰσοπεδώσεως / ὁ Γεωμετρικὰ σημεῖα / *(right column)* 162<γ> Δημαρχεῖον / 11 Δεσμοτελωνεῖον / 182 Δημοτικὸν Σχολεῖον / <64> Ἐκκλησία / α Κομητήριον / β Ὑδραγωγεῖον / γ Κρεοπωλεῖον / δ Μῶλος / ε Πλατεῖα / *(single column)* [two horizontal parallel yellow lines] Διαχάραξις τῶν ὁδῶν τῆς νέας πόλεως / Αἱ διαστάσεις τῶν ὁδῶν εἶναι : / 1 τάξεως ἤ αα = 11 Μέτρα Πλάτος / 2 » » ββ = 7 » » / 3 » » γγ = 6 » » / 4 » » οἱ λοιποί= 4 » »

(lower centre)

Κεφαλαίωσις / τῶν ἐμβαδῶν τῶν τεμαχίων / Ἰδιοκτήτων τεμάχια 303 στρέμματα 44,993 / Προικοδοτηθέντων » 10 » 3,325 / Εθνικῶν » 99 » 21,826 / τό ὅλον » 412 στρέμμ... 70,144

(lower right corner, within a rectangular frame)

Παρατηρήσεις / *(left column)* Ἡ πόλις ἔχει..... κατοίκους, ἐκτούτων εἶναι / Ἔμποροι † κάπηλοι † / Βιομήχανοι / Γεωργοί / Ἁλιεῖς / Ναῦται / Ἰδιοκτήται / Ὁ κυριώτερος δὲ πόρος ζωῆς τῶν κατοίκων / προέρχεται ἐκ τῆς ἐνοικιάσεως τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ ἐλαιώνος, ἐν ᾧ πληρώνουν ..... Δραχμάς κατ' / ἔτος εἰς τὸ Δημόσιον διὰ ἐνοίκιον αὐτοῦ, ἐκτός / τοῦ δεκάτου ἐκ Δραχμῶν .... περίπου . / Ὁ ἐλαιῶν οὗτος μετεβλήθη διὰ τῆς ἐπιμε- / λείας εἰς τὴν καλλιέργειαν εἰς καλὴν κατάστασιν καὶ / ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἐλπίζεται ταχεία πρόοδος τῆς / πόλεως.

(right column) Ἡ καλλιεργουμένη γή εἶναι ὀλίγη, μετρίας / ποιότητος, ὅλη δὲ ἐθνική. / Αἱ οἰκίαι, ἐκτός τῶν ὑπ' ἀριθ. 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19 / 21, 36, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 64, 119, εἶναι / ἀσήμαντοι. / Αἱ ὁδοί καίτοι ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὴν χρῆσιν / ἀμάξων δὲν κατασκευάσθησαν εἰσέτι. / Ὑλικὸν διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν οἰκιῶν κ(αὶ) / ὁδῶν, οἷον, λίθοι, ἄμμος κ(αὶ) πηλὸς / εὑρίσκεται πλησίον εἰς αφθονίαν. / Ἡ

47 On the subject, see, Ch. G. Dimakopoulou, 'Η καθιέρωσις νέου εθνικού θυρεού κατά το 1832', *Δελτίον της Εραλδικής και Γενεαλογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 10 (1996) 201–5, fig. 7.

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χῶρα εἶναι ὑγειεστάτη κ(αὶ) ἡ θέσις τῆς πό- / λεως εὐάρεστος, πρόπάντων δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. / Ὁ λιμὴν δέχεται μόνον μικρά πλοῖα. Τὸ ὑδραγωγεῖον φέρει ἀρκετά κ(αὶ) καλά ὕδατα.

(lower right corner, below the plan's frame)

Ἐν Καλάμαις τῇ 21^{η} Νοεμβρίου 1842 / Ὁ Γεωμέτρης Μεσσηνίας / Φ. Ζέρσε

Designer: Friedrich Zerse

Bibliography: Ἔκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900, 20-1, nr. 32; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 183.

3. *Title: (upper left corner)* <Σχέδιον> τῆς πόλεως / Κορώνης **Fig. 4**

Dimensions: 38 cm. height x 52 cm. width.

Provenance: Archive of MEECC.

Date: 1856

Key: *(lower left corner)*

<Δι>αν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου ἀντιγραφῆς / τήν 16 Νοεμβρίου 1856 / [Δημοσίω]ν Ἔργων Τμηματάρχης / *(signature)* [Ἐμμανουήλ] Μανιτάκης / ἀντισυνταγμ(ατάρχης)

(upper right corner)

<1> Μεγάλον Μαγαζεῖον
<2> Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπό τήν οἰκογένειαν τοῦ δε Δαρριώτη
3 » » » » » » Περιβολαράκη
4 Τζαμίον Ὀθωμανικόν χρησιμεῦον δι' ἐκκλησίαν
6 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπό τήν οἰκογένειαν _ _ Καραπαύλου
5 Οἰκία χρησιμεύουσα ὡς Δημαρχεῖον
7 Στρατών Γαλλικός ἀκατοίκητος
8 Νοσοκομεῖον Γαλλικόν ἀκατοίκητον
9 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπό τόν Διευθυντήν Στάϊ
10 Τζαμίον Ὀθωμανικόν χρησιμεῦον ὡς Σχολεῖον
11 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπό τήν οἰκογένειαν τοῦ Βουρνᾶ
12 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπό τόν Διοικητήν τοῦ ἀποσπάσματος
13 Λουτρά Ὀθωμανικά
14 Οἰκία κατεχομένη ἀπό τήν οἰκογένειαν τοῦ κ. Τριγγέτα
15 Πυριτιδαποθήκη
16 »

Designer: Manitakis (?)

Bibliography: Ἔκθεση Σχεδίων Ελληνικών Πόλεων 1828-1900, 22, nr. 40; Kaukoula–Papamichos–Hastaoglou, *Σχέδια πόλεων*, 184.

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Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Vol. 38 No. 2 (2014) 185–200

Entertainment in the twelfth-century canonical commentaries: were standards the same for Byzantine clerics and laymen?

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In this article I analyse the twelfth-century commentaries of Aristenos, Zonaras, and Balsamon on canons that prohibited certain forms of entertainment to clerics and/or laymen. Only when their commentaries are studied as a whole, does a pattern in their treatment become clear: they sought to minimize any distinctions between laity and clergy found in the original canons. This gives us a rare glimpse into lay and clerical interactions and reinforces the view that the Byzantine Church did not wish to maintain clear boundaries between clerics and laymen.

The pastoral and liturgical roles of clerics meant that they were in many ways distinct from their parishioners. Unlike laymen, all priests, deacons, and subdeacons wore liturgical vestments, handled holy vessels, and entered the sanctuary. Outside the church, differentiation was made through the types of professions clerics could exercise and the kinds of contact they could have with women.[1] In other cases, however, clerical and lay lives were more similar than we might expect. In this article, I will explore one such case, that of entertainment.[2] To do so, I will compare the moral standards required from laymen and clergy in the twelfth-century canonical commentaries of Alexios Aristenos (d. after 1166), Ioannis Zonaras (d. after 1150), and Theodoros Balsamon

1 A. E. Laiou, 'God and Mammon: credit, trade, profit and the canonists', in N. Oikonomides (ed.), *Byzantium in the 12th Century: canon law, state and society* (Athens 1991) 261–300; D. J. Constantelos, 'Clerics and secular professions in the Byzantine Church', *Byzantina* 13/1 (1985) 373–90; P. Viscuso, 'Canonical aspects of clerical marriage during the Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods', in J. J. Allen (ed.), *Vested in Grace: priesthood and marriage in the Christian East* (Brookline 2001) 67–120.

2 On entertainment in Byzantium more generally, see also S. Tougher, 'Having fun in Byzantium', in L. James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium* (Chichester 2010) 135–45; C. Roueché, 'Entertainment, theatre and hippodrome', in E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford 2008) 677–84.

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(d. after 1195).[3] These canonists commented on earlier canons which did not always correspond to the realities and needs of their own time.[4] Yet, their commentaries provide a rich source of information concerning contemporary society, by not only explaining and harmonising the ecclesiastical and civil laws but also occasionally expressing indignation at their current neglect.[5] Through an analysis of their commentaries on entertainment, I will argue that there was little difference in the way that the twelfth-century canon lawyers treated clerics and laymen. The liturgical duties of the clergy and their need for ritual purity were never mentioned.[6] It was the propriety of the activities themselves and the context within which they took place that determined their acceptability. Immorality, associations with the heterodox, the mixing of the sacred with the profane, use of divination, and even laughter made certain types of entertainment unsuitable for *all* Christians.

Canons addressed to clerics and laymen

Most canons dealing with entertainment were addressed to both clergy and laity. Canons 53 and 55 of the council of Laodicea (before 380), canons 42 and 43 of the Apostles (c.

3 On the three canonists, see S. Troianos, 'Byzantine canon law from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries', in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington (eds), *History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law* (Washington, D.C. 2012) 176–83; their work is edited in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 4 vols., eds G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles (Athens 1852–4), hereafter referred to as *Syntagma*, I for vol. 1, *Syntagma*, II for vol. 2, and so on.

4 Balsamon is thought to have written his entire commentary on the *Nomokanon* in 1177. The rest of his commentaries would not be completed before the end of his life. See A. Schminck, 'Zur Entwicklung des Eherechts in der Komnenenepoche', in N. Oikonomides (ed.), *Byzantium in the 12th century: canon law, state and society* (Athens 1991) 584 n.171; Troianos, 'Byzantine canon law', 181. There is considerable debate about Zonaras' date of writing. Based on his comment on canon 7 of Neocaesarea that he had seen a patriarch and several metropolitans present at the second wedding of an emperor, his commentary must have been completed after 1161, the year of the second marriage of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos. See Troianos, 'Byzantine canon law', 177; *Syntagma*, III, 80. Banchich, on the other hand, has argued that this comment might be simply an interpolation rather than Zonaras' own view. What is more, even if Zonaras was its author, the emperor he was referring to could have been the emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–81) who was married three times and whose second wedding took place in 1078. See T. M. Banchich, 'Introduction: the Epitome of Histories', in T. M. Banchich and E. N. Lane (trans.), *The History of Zonaras from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great* (London 2009) 7. Aristenos' interpretation was the earliest of the three. As evidenced by its title, the composition was initiated at the behest (*προτροπή*) of the emperor John Komnenos (r. 1118–43), around 1130. See Troianos, 'Byzantine canon law', 179.

5 R. Browning, 'Theodore Balsamon's commentary on the canons of the council in Trullo as a source on everyday life in twelfth-century Byzantium', in C. Angelide (ed.), *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens 1989) 421–7.

6 This is in stark contrast with Western canon law. The council of Agde (506) decreed that priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should avoid wedding feasts, 'lest their [senses of] seeing and hearing which have been assigned to the sacred mysteries be polluted through contact with filthy spectacles and words'. This canon was included in the twelfth century in Gratian's *Decretum* which became the major source of Western canon law. See D. 34 c. 19 in *Corpus iuris canonici: Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, vol. 1, ed. E. Friedberg (Graz 1959) 130.

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380), and canon 22 of the second council of Nicaea (787) regulated drinking and eating.[7] Canons 42 and 43 of the Apostles and canon 50 of Trullo (691/2) prohibited clerics and laymen from playing games of chance (κυβεύειν).[8] Canon 60 of Carthage (419), canons 62 and 65 of Trullo, and canon 70 of the Apostles forbade their participation in pagan or Jewish celebrations.[9] Canons 51 and 66 of Trullo and 61 of Carthage restricted attendance to certain spectacles.[10] These activities were considered inappropriate for Christians.

Eating and Drinking

Food and drink in general could symbolize both good and evil, seen for example in the Eucharistic meal that brings about man's salvation and in the apple that brought about his fall.[11] Food and drink when consumed *in excess* were seen as corrupting.[12] Canon 55 of Laodicea forbade both clerics and laymen from attending ἐκ συμβολῆς συμπόσια, large banquets whose expenses were shared by the participants. The canonists explained that such banquets gave rise to gluttony and drunkenness which in turn led to quarrelsome behaviour and contempt for God.[13] Excessive eating and drinking could also lead to undesirable sexual behaviour.[14] It was thought, for example, to induce nocturnal emissions.[15] Canons 42 and 43 of the Apostles also forbade both clerics and laymen from getting drunk.[16] In so doing, however, they divided clerics

7 *Syntagma*, III, 219–21; *Syntagma*, II, 58–9, 642–6.

8 *Syntagma*, II, 58, 424.

9 *Syntagma*, III, 465; *Syntagma*, II, 448–52, 456–60, 90–1.

10 *Syntagma*, II, 424–7, 460–2; *Syntagma*, III, 466–7.

11 A. Eastmond and L. James, 'Eat, drink ... and pay the price', in L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (eds), *Eat, Drink and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium* (Aldershot 2007) 175.

12 There was an enduring Byzantine position that everything made by God, including food and wine, was good. It was abuses, such as excess, that were blameworthy. See *Syntagma*, II, 67–8. There remained however an understanding that certain foods were unclean. Indeed this was one of the reproaches made against the Latins during the 1054 controversy, see T.M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana, IL 2000) 145–69, 189–90. For Zonaras' and Balsamon's opinion on unclean food, see also *Syntagma*, II, 81, 462–3.

13 *Syntagma*, III, 221. More positive attitudes towards the drinking of wine can be found in some Byzantine texts from the eleventh century onwards, but this is not reflected in the canonical commentaries: see E. Anagnostakes, 'Οἶνος ὁ Βυζαντινός', in M. Z. Kopidakes, E. Anagnostakes, and A. Georganta (eds), *Οἶνος στήν Ποίηση*, vol. B2 (Athens 1995) 32–3, 102–5.

14 Gluttony was thought to be the mother of the sin of fornication. Among others, Evagrios Pontikos (d. 399) connected excessive eating with lust, see R.E. Sinkewicz, *Evagrius of Pontus: the Greek Ascetic Corpus* (Oxford 2003) 21. The association continued in the twelfth-century as we see for example in Neophytos' writings, C. Galatariotou, 'Eros and Thanatos: a Byzantine hermit's conception of sexuality', *BMGS* 13 (1989) 110.

15 *Syntagma*, III, 221; *Syntagma*, IV, 12; M.T. Fögen, 'Unto the pure all things are pure: the Byzantine canonist Zonaras on nocturnal pollution', in J. Ziolkowski (ed.), *Obscenity: social control and artistic creation in the European Middle Ages* (Leiden 1998) 263.

16 *Syntagma*, II, 58–9.

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into two groups based on their punishment: canon 42 deposed bishops, priests, and deacons who disobeyed; while canon 43 excommunicated subdeacons, readers, and singers, along with laymen. This was unusual as most canons dealing with entertainment treated all clerics as one group.[17] Prompted by this division, Zonaras put forward his own understanding of the clerical hierarchy: 'bishops and all clergymen ought to be an exhortation to virtue, a model and a provocation to beneficence for everyone'.[18] This emphasis on the need for clerics to guide others by example is rare in canons linked to entertainment.[19] Zonaras provides greater balance first by acknowledging that 'it is likely for some clerics to turn away from good' and then by highlighting the canon's prohibition against the laity: 'But also laymen are not allowed to spend their time drinking. For the Scripture says: "do not drink so much wine that you get drunk" (Tobit 4:1) and again: "do not get drunk with wine, for that is profligacy" (Ephesians 5:18).[20] Zonaras considered it important for clerics to be sober, but he thought it *equally* important for laymen to be the same. This is clearly expressed in his commentary on canon 53 of Laodicea which asked *all* Christians not to play cymbals or dance at weddings, but to enjoy a solemn meal (σεμνῶς).[21] The canonist emphasized the idea that Christians should do nothing unworthy of their Christian state: μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ποιοῦντας Χριστιανοῖς.[22] The same phrase is repeated by Aristenos in his commentary on canon 54 of Laodicea. This canon was specifically addressed to clerics, but the commentary widened the focus to include all Christians: 'Christians who go to weddings are required to dine solemnly, and not to dance or [...] clap their hands, producing this way a loud sound, for this is unworthy of the Christian state'.[23]

17 The words most frequently used are κληρικοί, clerics; ἱερατικοί, sacerdotes; οἱ ἐν ἱερατικῷ καταλεγόμενοι τάγματι, those counted among the sacerdotal order; κεκληρωμένοι, those appointed to the clergy; and ἱερώμενοι, those who are ordained. The canonists used these terms interchangeably. We can see this in canon 24 of Trullo and its commentaries. The canon itself used the phrase 'τινὶ τῶν ἐν ἱερατικῷ καταλεγομένων τάγματι', Zonaras rephrased it as 'ἱερωμένους', Balsamon as 'ἱερατικοὺς', and Aristenos as 'κληρικὸς'. See *Syntagma*, II, 356–60. Cf. J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les offikia de l'église byzantine* (Paris 1970) 88. See also Balsamon's own but inconsistent definition of the word *κληρικός* in *Syntagma*, II, 485.

18 'Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ κλήρου πάντας, παράκλησιν ἅπασι πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι χρὴ, καὶ ἀρχέτυπον, καὶ παροξυσμὸν πρὸς ἀγαθοεργίαν', see *Syntagma*, II, 58; Similarly, Aristenos claimed that if priests and deacons were deposed when they refused to desist, 'even more so should those who happen to be in greater hierarchical rank be deposed', see *Syntagma*, II, 59.

19 *Syntagma*, II, 58. This is in fact one of only two commentaries where the canonists make such a distinction.

20 Ibid., 58–9.

21 'βαλλίζειν' is interpreted by Zonaras and Balsamon as playing cymbals, but by Aristenos as clapping one's hands, see *Syntagma*, III, 219–21.

22 *Syntagma*, III, 219–20.

23 'Ἀπαιτοῦνται οἱ Χριστιανοὶ εἰς γάμον ἀπερχόμενοι, σεμνῶς δειπνεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μὴ ὀρχεῖσθαι, ἢ βαλλίζειν, τουτέστι, τὰς χεῖρας κροτεῖν, καὶ δι'αὐτῶν κτύπον ἀποτελεῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνάξιον χριστιανικῆς καταστάσεως', see *Syntagma*, III, 221.

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Games

Along with drunkenness canons 42 and 43 of the Apostles forbade games of chance (κυβεύειν) to both clergy and laity.[24] The same prohibition was repeated in canon 50 of Trullo.[25] Games of chance had already been banned in the sixth century by the emperor Justinian I (r. 527–65) because they could result in loss of property.[26] There were, however, games (παιγνία) for which wagers (συνθηκίζειν) were permitted, albeit with a limit on the amount of money one could bet. Variants of Justinian's decree were included in the *Nomokanon of the Fourteen Titles* and the *Basilika* (c. 888) which in Balsamon's time still provided the standard of what was or was not valid law.[27] As Balsamon reminded the reader, the version found in the *Basilika* permitted indiscriminate betting in the case of the allowed games.[28] This financial aspect does not seem to have been important for the canonist who made no further call for moderation.[29] Another argument against games of chance was given by the emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912) and was specifically addressed to the clergy. In Novel 87 the emperor lamented the association of clerics with such games because they were a distraction. For Leo, clerics, because of their intercessory function, ought to have 'a resolute spirit and an immovable soul'.[30] Although Balsamon mentioned Leo's Novel, he did not quote it and only referred the reader to the original text. In doing so he completely overlooked the distinction between clergy and laity which is evident in Leo's law. Finally, dice-games, in particular, were objectionable because of their association with divination. Dice (κύβοι, ψῆφοι or ἀστράγαλοι) had after all been used since antiquity to predict the future.[31] Balsamon stated that dice had also been used to foresee the outcome of chariot races in the hippodrome during the time of the emperors Anastasius I (r. 491–518), Justinian, and Phokas (r. 602–10).[32] But even in the twelfth century, Anna

24 *Syntagma*, II, 58–9.

25 Ibid., 424.

26 On the complex manuscript tradition of this constitution, see J. Hallebeek, 'On the origin of the constitution *Alearum lusus* (C. 3,43,1) and its insertion into the *Codex Justinianus*', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 81:1–2 (2013) 129–43. Justinian's Novel 123.10 had also forbidden games of chance specifically to clerics, but we do not find it amongst Balsamon's references to civil law.

27 *Syntagma*, I, 329. Balsamon was using the second edition of the *Basilika* made in the eleventh century, see S.N. Troianos, *Οι Πηγές του Βυζαντινού Δικαίου*, 3rd edn (Athens 2011) 257–9; Cf. J. H. A. Lokin, 'The significance of the law and legislation in the law books of the ninth to eleventh centuries', in A. E. Laiou and D. Simon (eds), *Law and society in Byzantium, 9th–12th centuries* (Washington, D.C. 1994) 88–9.

28 *Basilicorum libri LX, Text*, eds H. J. Scheltema, N. van der Wal, D. Holwerda, 8 vols. (Groningen 1953–88) VIII, B. 60.8.5.

29 *Syntagma*, I, 320.

30 P. Noialles and A. Dain, *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris 1944) 290–3, here at 291: συντεταγμένῃ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἀμετακινήτῳ νοΐ.

31 Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol A.I. (Athens 1947) 186–96. Given the early date of composition of the original canon (4th c.), it is possible that the dice mentioned here were used in divination, see E. J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley 2006) 132–5.

32 *Syntagma*, II, 358.

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Komnene (1083–c.1153/4) tells us of a contemporary, a certain Alexandrian, who made prophecies by the casting of dice (ψηφηφορία).[33]

Nonetheless Balsamon seems overall to be lenient when it comes to games of chance. In his commentary on canon 50 of Trullo, he argued for a mitigation of the sanctions for both clerics and laymen. The Trullan canon ordered that anyone found playing dice-games, should be immediately punished. The canons of the Apostles had decreed that only those who did not desist were to be punished. Balsamon agreed with the latter provisions which he called 'φιλανθρωπότεροι', more humane.[34]

Pagan and Jewish festivals

Certain festivals were also objectionable because of their associations with divination. Balsamon in his commentary on canon 65 of Trullo described a practice which used to take place in Constantinople on 23 June, the eve of the feast of St John the Baptist. Men and women gathered together and dressed a first-born girl of a family in a wedding gown. With others drinking, leaping, and dancing around her, the girl would foretell the future by randomly drawing objects from a vessel filled with seawater.[35] This custom ceased in the capital under the patriarch Michael of Anchialos (1170–78), but similar ones continued. Balsamon finished his commentary with a wish that augury (οἰωνοσκοπίας) using crows and wild beasts might also stop.[36] Divination was widespread at the time and even imperially approved. Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) based his military campaigns on astrological predictions, while Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183–1185) put his faith in a form of divination that used tubs and basins filled with water.[37] Although canon law was staunchly against such practices, many clerics, even bishops and patriarchs, engaged in them throughout the Byzantine period.[38] The law made no distinction between laity and clergy when prohibiting divination, and many laymen and clerics were no different in ignoring it.

Other festivals were objectionable because of their associations with immorality and laughter. Canon 62 of Trullo forbade the celebration of the Kalends, the Vota and the Brumalia.[39] These feasts corresponded to ancient Greek and Roman festivals, but

33 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, eds D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (Berlin 2001) 182. See also A. Bryer, 'Byzantine games', *History Today* 17:5 (1967) 453; Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol A.II. (Athens 1952) 199.

34 *Syntagma*, II, 424.

35 *Syntagma*, II, 459. For a full translation of this passage, see Browning, 'Theodore Balsamon's commentary', 421–2.

36 *Syntagma*, II, 459. See also M.Th. Fögen, 'Balsamon on magic: from Roman secular law to Byzantine canon law', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic* (Washington D.C. 1995) 99–115.

37 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J. -L. van Dieten (Berlin and New York 1975) 154, 339; trans. H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit 1983) 87, 187.

38 M. Mavroudi, 'Occult science and society in Byzantium: considerations for future research', in P. Magdalino and M. V. Mavroudi (eds), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva 2006) 81–2.

39 *Syntagma*, II, 448.

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ordinary twelfth-century Byzantines would have known little about their origins or meaning.[40] Zonaras lamented that women performed indecent dances which aroused sexual feelings amongst the audience, men and women dressed in each other's clothing, wore dramatic masks, and laughed aloud (γελᾷν καὶ ἐπικαγχάζειν) while pouring wine.[41] Laughter more generally was seen by the Church as vulgar, obscene, and impious.[42] It was tears of contrition that were necessary for the salvation of the human soul.[43] Zonaras stated that such celebrations took place particularly in rural areas and rebuked farmers for participating in them.[44] Balsamon gave a similar example from the capital. On certain feast days, laymen dressed up as monks and clerics, while clerics disguised themselves sometimes as soldiers marching with swords into the Great Church, and other times as monks or even animals walking on all fours.[45] But as Aristenos commented, the Church Fathers did not allow such things to be done 'by Christians' (παρὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν).[46]

Festivals that involved participants of different faiths caused another kind of anxiety. Canon 60 of Carthage forbade Christians from participating in pagan feasts. During these feasts, the participants performed lascivious dances in fields and open places. These dances are described as foul (μυσαράς) and the fear is expressed that they might incite Christians to abandon their faith.[47] Similarly, canon 70 of the Apostles forbade Christians from eating the unleavened bread of Jews and from participating in their celebrations (συνεορτάζειν).[48] Zonaras used strong language, describing such interactions as polluting (μιαίνεσθαι).[49] Interfaith celebrations were still deemed problematic in the canonist's time as can be seen from a mid-twelfth-century set of *ἐρωταποκρίσεις* which asked for an appropriate penance for Christians who ate together with Armenians, Saracens, and Jews.[50] The vocabulary of impurity used in the commentaries of the above-

40 *Syntagma*, II, 457: μηδὲ εἰδότες τί δηλοῦσι.

41 Ibid., 449.

42 A. P. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: an introduction to modern Byzantine studies* (Washington D.C. 1982) 62; J. Haldon, 'Humour and the everyday in Byzantium', in G. Halsall (ed.), *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2002) 60–2; L. Garland, 'Street life in Constantinople: women and the carnivalesque', in her *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800–1200* (Aldershot 2006) 63–164, 173.

43 I. Hausherr, *Penthos: the Doctrine of Compunction in the Christian East* (Kalamazoo 1982); H. Hunt, *Joy-bearing Grief: tears of contrition in the writings of the Early Syrian and Byzantine Fathers* (Leiden 2004).

44 *Syntagma*, II, 449.

45 Ibid., 451.

46 Ibid., 452.

47 *Syntagma*, III, 465.

48 *Syntagma*, II, 90–1.

49 Ibid., 90.

50 V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1 (Paris 1989) n. 1034. For the dating see also *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing (Berlin 2002) 56–7. For the genre of *erotapokriseis*, see Y. Papadoyannakis, 'Instruction by question and answer: the case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis', in S. E. Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism* (Aldershot 2006) 91–105.

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mentioned canons afforded a means of fighting heterodoxy and protecting the centre from the margins.[51] Interestingly, fears of pollution do not refer here specifically to clerics, but to all Christians.

Not all festivals were reprehensible, however. Christian celebrations, where the faithful could enjoy themselves in the right company and under the right auspices, were perfectly acceptable. Festivals (πανηγύρεις), dances (χοροστασίαι), and other games (παίγνια), Balsamon tells us, took place in his time both in cities and provinces (ἔξω χώρας).[52] But these had adopted a Christian character and enjoyed ecclesiastical approval.[53] One such twelfth-century example was the *panegyris* of St Demetrios in Thessalonike which was sanctioned by the presence of the archbishop, clergy, and nuns and the performance of liturgy with psalmody and antiphons.[54] The purpose of such religious festivals would have been to bring the Church into the street and to create alternative forms of entertainment that were compatible with the participant's Christian status. The same was true of processions, which transformed the whole City into a church and combined the solemn with the jubilant.[55] Festivals and celebrations, then, were objectionable only when they involved unchristian elements. In such cases they were equally prohibited to both clerics and laymen.

Music

Certain kinds of music also faced opposition. As we have seen, canon 53 of Laodicea specifically prohibited the use of cymbals at wedding celebrations. Similarly, canon 22 of the second council of Nicaea forbade married couples from eating together while enjoying θυμελικά ἐπιτηδεύματα, 'Satanic songs, lyres, and meritricious dances'.[56] Instrumental music, more generally, was objectionable because of its association with

51 In the canonical commentaries heresy or Judaic customs are often described as impure. The canonists adopt such language even when it is not present in the text of the canon they are commenting upon. Another example can be found in Zonaras' commentary on canon 61 of the Apostles where he tells us that Orthodox Christians ought to see heretics and their ceremonies as abominations (*βδελύττεσθαι*), see *Syntagma*, II, 61. See also M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo* (London 2002).

52 For Balsamon's use of the expression *ἔξω χῶραι*, see P. Magdalino, 'Constantinople and the ἔξω χῶραι in the time of Balsamon', in N. Oikonomides (ed.), *Byzantium in the 12th century*, 179–98.

53 The Church Fathers had often expressed their disapproval towards *panegyreis* because of their associations with commerce, frivolity, and sin, but the pagan festivals were progressively assimilated into the Christian cycle of liturgical celebrations, see S. Vryonis Jr, 'The panegyris of the Byzantine saint: a study in the nature of a medieval institution, its origins and fate', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (New York 2001) 210–14.

54 *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione, ed. R. Romano* (Naples 1974) 55; trans. B. Baldwin, *Timarion* (Detroit 1984) 45–6. Cf. with the description of a *panegyris* found in the enkomion of the patriarch Nikolaos III Grammatikos (1084–1111), in J. Darrouzès, 'L'éloge de Nicolas III par Nicolas Mouzalon', *REB* 46 (1988) 48–51.

55 J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome 1987) 268; R.F. Taft, *Through their own eyes: liturgy as the Byzantines saw it* (Berkeley 2005) 41–4.

56 See *Syntagma*, II, 643: εἴτουν σατανικῶν ᾀσμάτων, κιθαρῶν τε, καὶ πορνικῶν λυγισμάτων.

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sexual licentiousness, extravagant banquets, and the immorality of the theatre.[57] Vocal music, on the other hand, was encouraged by the Church Fathers. John Chrysostom, for example, had exhorted Christians to enter the holy choir of God and sing hymns to his praise, 'turning their banquets into churches rather than theatres'.[58] Balsamon did not uphold this distinction. In his commentaries on canons 45 and 129 of Carthage, he stated explicitly that the canon did not condemn 'those who, accompanied by musical instruments, sing wedding songs', the θυμελικοί.[59] Those were considered honourable (ἔντιμοι).[60] Similarly, in his commentary on canon 53 of Laodicea, Balsamon stated that the canon was no longer valid: it was now acceptable for the faithful to play the cymbals or other instruments when celebrating their weddings.[61] Although we have no trace of what such songs sounded like, secular music would have been omnipresent. Apart from the more private settings of wedding celebrations, music would have been played in the streets of Constantinople, at festivals, and fairs.[62] Instrumental music was also imperially sanctioned: cymbals had begun to be used in the army, while the

57 J. McKinnon, 'The meaning of the Patristic polemic against musical instruments', *Current Musicology* 1 (1965) 70. For how the psaltery was seen by the Church Fathers, see N. Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα* (Athens 2007) 65–8.

58 *MPG* 55:158.

59 Balsamon defined the *θυμελικοί* in opposition to mimes, who as we will see, were greatly condemned by the canons and the canonists. 'σκηνικοί καὶ μῖμοί εἰσιν, οὐχὶ οἱ θυμελικοὶ, οἱ τὰς ἐπιθαλαμίους ᾠδὰς μετὰ μουσικῶν ὀργάνων ᾄδοντες, οὗτοι γὰρ ἔντιμοί εἰσιν', *Syntagma*, III, 415; 'Μίμους μέν τοι ἐκείνους λέγε, τοὺς προσωπεῖα ὑποδυομένους, δούλων τυχὸν, ἢ καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ μὴ πάντας τοὺς τῆς θυμέλης· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ, οἱ τὰ μουσικὰ ὄργανα μεταχειριζόμενοι, ἔντιμοι εἰσὶν', see *Syntagma*, III, 598. We find the same distinction in the Life of Symeon the Salos. The saint was friendly towards the *θυμελικαί*, but not towards mimes, see H. J. Magoulias,'Bathhouse, inn, tavern, prostitution and the stage as seen in the Lives of the Saints of the sixth and eleventh centuries', *EEBS* 38 (1971) 248. Ruth Webb notices that the language of the early legal sources makes no distinction between different varieties of 'people of the stage' and she emphasizes in particular the difference between actors and dancers. To that we can also add musicians. See R. Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (London 2008) 143. The canonist seems to have made the same distinction in his commentary on canon 24 of Trullo, in which he stated that although some people treated mimes and *θυμελικά παιγνία* in the same way, the majority and especially the most pious, amongst whom he placed himself, were not satisfied with this, arguing instead that the laws ought to be interpreted in a spiritually beneficial way. See *Syntagma*, II, 360. The term *θυμελικά παιγνία* is usually understood to mean some kind of theatrical spectacle rather than a musical one. See F. Tinnefeld, 'Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums', *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 339; B. Caseau, 'Le cérémonial impérial', in S. Métivier and P. Pagès (eds), *Economie et société à Byzance (VIIIe-XIIe siècle): textes et documents* (Paris 2007) 32. It is more likely though that the canonist is again making a distinction between music and mimes. This is also suggested by his use of the expression: *θυμελικῶν παιγνίων ἀκούειν*, to listen to *θυμελικά παιγνία*. Balsamon then argued that everyone should be allowed to listen to music, sung and accompanied by instruments, but no one should be permitted to attend the spectacles of mimes.

60 The term *ἔντιμος* and its opposite *ἄτιμος* were linked to a person's legal rights, determining for example if they could act as witness or bring an accusation to court. It was only someone who was *ἔντιμος* who could testify against a bishop. See *Syntagma*, II, 97.

61 *Syntagma*, III, 220.

62 Garland, 'Street life', 169–71, 173–4.

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organ was played at imperial banquets, at the hippodrome, and during imperial processions on major religious feasts.[63]

What was condemnable for both canonists was the singing of profane songs within a religious context. In his commentary on canon 75 of Trullo, Zonaras complained that the hymns sung in church as a prayer to God turned into lewd songs (ᾄσματα πορνικὰ) which were completely inappropriate in an ecclesiastical setting (ἀνοίκειον καὶ ἀνάρμοστον ἐκκλησίᾳ).[64] Similarly, Balsamon prohibited elaborate hand gestures, protracted sounds, and vibrato, as well as θυμελικὰς ψαλμῳδίας or θυμελικὰ μέλη.[65] What he had found appropriate in a secular context, he did not accept within a religious one. But this was a distinction linked to the place rather than the people involved in the activity.

Spectacles

The spectacles of mimes were heavily criticized in the canonical commentaries.[66] Mimes seem to have been akin to court jesters whose role consisted of both verbal humour, such as insults, ridicule, and obscenities as well as non-verbal humour, including slapstick and buffoonery.[67] According to the twelfth-century commentators, dressing up and impersonating stock characters was an important part of their repertoire. Zonaras described mimes as 'those who play sometimes the part of generals, others that of slaves, and others again that of other people'.[68] Elsewhere the canonist tells us that they dressed up as Arabs or Armenians, but also generals and rulers.[69] Balsamon described mimes as 'those who put on masks of slaves or women' and affirmed that they did not hesitate to impersonate also monks and clerics.[70] Their spectacles would have taken place as part of private entertainments, including wedding or banquets, or as part of public entertainment in the street of Constantinople or at the hippodrome.[71] Zonaras made a distinction between mimes who performed before the emperor (ἔντιμοι) and those who performed

63 The use of the organ declines after 1204, see Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, 252–3, 293–8, 311–28, 338–41, 372–5. For music at the Constantinopolitan hippodrome see also the Kiev fresco with its depiction of an eleven-member court orchestra and eight different musical instruments, in E. Boeck, 'Simulating the Hippodrome: the performance of power in Kiev's St. Sophia', *The Art Bulletin* 91/3 (2009) 292.

64 *Syntagma*, II, 479: εἰς ᾠδὰς ἐκτρεπομένη θυμελικὰς, καὶ εἰς ᾄσματα πορνικὰ [...].

65 Ibid., 480: τὰς ὀρχήσεις τῶν χειρονομούντων, καὶ τὰς ἐκτεταμένας ἐκφωνήσεις.

66 A variety of often interchangeable terms (*μῖμος, σκηνικός, θυμελικός, ὁ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, γελωτοποιός*) was used to describe such performers, but their place in the history of theatre is difficult to ascertain. Tinnefeld examined the evidence for the continuation of mimes and pantomimes after the council of Trullo (691/2), see Tinnefeld, 'Zum profanen Mimos', 321–43; Cf. W. Puchner, 'Acting in the Byzantine theatre: evidence and problems' in P. Easterling and E. Hall (eds), *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession* (Cambridge 2002) 307.

67 L. Garland, 'Imperial women and entertainment at the Middle Byzantine court', in her *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800-1200* (Aldershot 2006) 178.

68 *Syntagma*, III, 414.

69 *Syntagma*, II, 425.

70 *Syntagma*, III, 598; *Syntagma*, II, 451.

71 W. Puchner, 'Acting in the Byzantine theatre', 314–17

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for the populace in festivals (ἄτιμοι), but hastened to note that the Church did not approve of any of them.[72] One of Zonaras' main objections against mimes was again linked to laughter. They made the audience laugh and excited the most foolish and least careful to Bacchic frenzy (ἐκβακχεύουσι).[73] The canonist also criticized the performance itself and especially dancing: when it was done by men it was unseemly; when it was done by women it was sexually provocative.[74] Theatrical performances had received vehement opposition from the Church Fathers and especially John Chrysostom who denounced their licentiousness and emphasized the biblical precept that merely looking at other women with desire constituted adultery.[75] Mimes were also objectionable because they were seen as deceitful. The act of *mimesis* was a lie and the theatre a dangerous place of illusion that could transform not only the actor but potentially also the viewer.[76] But it was also the similarities between the theatre and the Church that led to its denouncement. Like actors, clerics themselves 'performed' during the Divine Liturgy and during preaching. One way to emphasize the truth of their performance was to attack the falsity of the performances of actors.[77]

The spectacles of mimes were altogether forbidden by canon 51 of Trullo.[78] The same canon also forbade beast fights (κυνηγίων θεώρια) to both clergy and laity. Zonaras described this as fights between different kinds of animals or between animals and men. Such fights had been banned both in civil and canon law.[79] The audience of these spectacles was at fault because of their cruelty and their rejoicing at the misery of others.[80] The canonist believed that violent games went against Christian values. Yet, both Zonaras and Balsamon distinguished between those who participated to gain honour and show their bravery (ἔντιμοι) and those who were motivated by financial rewards (ἄτιμοι).[81] Balsamon in particular commented that what was objectionable

72 *Syntagma*, III, 596–7. Zonaras makes the same distinction in his commentary on canon 45 of Carthage, *Syntagma*, III, 414. It is unlikely that there was any difference in the performances of the two kinds of mimes, but imperial sanction was enough to increase the prestige of those performing for the emperor. See also the text of the Nomokanon on the same topic as well as Balsamon's commentary, *Syntagma*, I, 322–4. A good indication of the contempt the Church had for actors is that, according to canon 18 of the Apostles, men who had married mimes (τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς) were not allowed to accede to holy orders. See *Syntagma*, II, 25–6.

73 *Syntagma*, II, 425. See also E. Dauterman-Maguire and H. Maguire, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton 2007) 135–53.

74 *Syntagma*, II, 425.

75 Webb, *Demons and Dancers*, 179–83.

76 Ibid., 198–200.

77 Ibid., 209–16.

78 *Syntagma*, II, 424.

79 Ibid., 425. For example, Anastasius I (r. 491–518) abolished fights between men and beasts in 499, see J. Theodorides, 'Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome et les ménageries impériales à Constantinople', *BS* 19 (1958) 74.

80 *Syntagma*, II, 425.

81 *Syntagma*, III, 597–8. The same distinction can be found in the Basilica, B. 21.2.3.

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was not the act but its motivation.[82] Both canonists wrote about beast fights as a thing of the past.[83] It is not clear, however, if that was the case. The latest mention of animal fights we find comes from the travelogue of Benjamin of Tudela (d. 1173) who described the 'lions, panthers, bears, and zebras', which he saw engage in combat in the hippodrome of Constantinople. Interestingly, this is said to have taken place on a major feast day, 'the anniversary of the birth of Jesus'.[84]

In their comments on canon 51 of Trullo, the canonists emphasized that these prohibitions applied to *all* Christians. Aristenos began by saying: 'Also laymen, being Christians, are required to lead a holy life'.[85] Similarly, Zonaras noted that the faithful must not live carelessly and immoderately, but should lead a life suitable to saints (ὡς πρέπει ἁγίοις).[86] This canon was an expansion of the prohibition found in the earlier canon 54 of Laodicea, which had been specifically addressed to clerics.[87]

Canons addressed only to clerics

Apart from canon 54 of Laodicea, there were three more canons which specifically regulated the behaviour of the clergy.[88] Canons 24 of Laodicea and 54 of the Apostles forbade clerics from eating at a tavern (καπηλεῖον). Taverns had long been associated with drunkenness, unruly behaviour, and prostitution.[89] Their poor reputation persisted, as we see for example in one of the poems written by Ptochoprodromos in the twelfth century, in which the daughter of the tavern-keeper (καπήλου θυγατέρα) is used as the classic example of a despicable woman.[90] The canons, however, made allowances for clerics who were forced to stay at an inn (πανδοχεῖον), for example during a journey, although inns did not enjoy a better reputation. They too were associated with prostitution.[91] Inns were mentioned in some hagiographies as places where saints were born, but

82 *Syntagma*, III, 598.

83 *Syntagma*, II, 425, 358. Some historians place the end of animal combats before the council of Trullo. See A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973) 228–30; C. Mango, 'Daily life in Byzantium', *JÖB* 31 (1981) 344.

84 J. R. Magdalena Nom de Déu, *Libro de Viajes de Benjamín de Tudela. Versión castellana, introducción y notas* (Barcelona 1982) 67; M. N. Adler, trans. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, 70–71; Theodorides, 'Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome', 290–1.

85 *Syntagma* II, 426: Καὶ οἱ λαϊκοὶ, Χριστιανοὶ ὄντες, σεμνῶς ἀπαιτοῦνται διαβιώσκειν.

86 Ibid., 425.

87 Balsamon in his commentary on canon 54 of Laodicea directs the reader to the all-inclusive Trullan canon. See *Syntagma*, III, 220.

88 Canon 24 of Laodicea discusses a form of singing, but has not been included here, because it refers to singing for magical reasons, as in the case of summoning demons or taming wild animals. See *Syntagma*, III, 203.

89 Magoulias, 'Bathhouse, inn, tavern, prostitution and the stage', 238–44.

90 Poem 1: H. Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromos: Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar* (Cologne 1991) 102; M. Alexiou, 'The poverty of écriture and the craft of writing: towards a reappraisal of the Prodromic poems', *BMGS* 10 (1986) 1–40, esp. 32–5.

91 O. R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2003) 25–8.

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this was most likely meant to emphasize the miraculous nature of these individuals, who rose to sainthood from the most unlikely origins.[92] Commenting on this prohibition, Zonaras and Balsamon put forward an image of clerical responsibility. They stated that clerics ought to present an example of a demure (σεμνός) life so that the laity may follow in their footsteps. They also needed to be blameless in all things, lest they blaspheme God's name.[93] These two aspects, the role of clerics as leaders of the community and as representatives of Christ, highlight their special position and might indicate a divide between clerics and laymen. This is the second and last time that we hear of the need of clerics to provide an example for the laity. Interestingly, in both cases the regulated activity was linked to drinking. But even here, the image that we get is not one of clerical superiority. Balsamon mitigates the harshness of the canon noting that it should not punish clerics who eat in a tavern once, but only those who make a habit out of it and refuse to desist.[94] Zonaras reverses the roles of clerics and laymen stating that by going to taverns and associating themselves with indecent people, clerics too partook of their wickedness: 'for evil conversations corrupt good morals'.[95] The canonist imagines the clergy being preached to by laymen and incited towards evil. He does not think them strong enough to resist profane attractions. Instead of providing an image of higher clerical standards, his commentary implies that clerics could easily and irretrievably slip into patterns of secular behaviour.

Finally, canon 24 of Trullo prohibited the attendance of monks and clergy at theatrical spectacles and the hippodrome. As we have already discussed, theatrical spectacles were prohibited to all by canon 51 of the same council. Yet, the punishments of the two were quite different. Canon 24 of Trullo decreed that clergymen were to be deposed if, after having been found, they refused to desist from these activities. Canon 51 allowed for no such warning either for clerics or for laymen. Balsamon noticed the difference and commented that the reason for it was one of frequency. Canon 24 of Trullo used the word ἀνιέναι, while canon 51 of the same council used the word ἐκδοῦναι. The former implied only occasional attendance to such activities, the latter pointed to much greater frequency. Balsamon stated that it was tolerable for someone to occasionally attend the hippodrome or spectacles (θυμελικοῖς παιγνίοις), but it was unforgivable to give yourself wholly to such things and to engage in them constantly.[96] Interestingly, the intensity of the punishment here does

92 See, for example, the seventh-century Life of St Theodore of Sykeon: *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels 1970) I, 3; trans. E. Dawes and N. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford 1977) 88. As inns were places where the profane and the holy could come into contact, they could also act as places of spiritual salvation, see Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 29.

93 *Syntagma*, II, 72.

94 Ibid., 73

95 See *Syntagma*, I, 72: οὐ περὶ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν μόνην διεφθάρθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ ἤθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν διαγωγήν.

96 *Syntagma*, II, 426.

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not depend on one's status, lay or ecclesiastic, but on the intensity of their involvement in the prohibited activity.

One difference remained. Clerics unlike laymen had been forbidden from attending the hippodrome. In Balsamon's commentary on canon 24 of Trullo, we find a lengthy and passionate defence of the clerics' right to do so.[97] Although the canonist claimed to be the mouthpiece of 'some others', the length of his exposition as well as his acceptance of some clearly erroneous statements strongly suggest that he agreed with those he was speaking for. Some of the arguments reported by Balsamon aimed to rehabilitate the prohibited activities. For one, Balsamon starkly contrasted the hippodrome of his day to that of the time of the original canon. The old hippodrome had been reprehensible because it was a place of revolt where 'many rebellions and absurd things' occurred; because the audience was not content to simply watch the games but used divination to predict the winner; and because beast fights took place along with other 'shameful and indecorous' spectacles. Although Balsamon claimed that all this had changed, the image he presented was widely inaccurate. He misrepresented both the hippodrome of old and the hippodrome of his time. We know, for example, that the emperor in the days of Anastasius and Justinian had not only regularly attended but fully controlled the, by then thoroughly Christianized, ceremonial race days.[98] In the twelfth century, on the other hand, divination had continued to be used to predict the outcome of the races. Other prohibited spectacles, such as beast fights and mimes, seem also to have been part of the hippodrome's more recent history.[99]

Balsamon gives a further argument in favour of the hippodrome, drawing upon the authority of John Chrysostom whose sermons prohibited attendance to all the faithful on feast days: if only certain days were forbidden, surely others must have been allowed.[100] Balsamon further argued that chariot races actually took place with the encouragement of the Church (κατὰ προτροπὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν). According to the canonist, in his time some of the demes were chosen from amidst the clerical rank of readers.[101] Unlike the lay demes, readers made sure that nothing indecent took place at the hippodrome.[102] The fact that some clerics were allowed to participate meant that all clerics should be allowed to participate. In terms of entertainment, Balsamon believed that the clergy

97 *Syntagma*, II, 357–60.

98 See also A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976) 18.

99 P. Magdalino, 'The Porphyrogenita and the astrologers: a commentary on *Alexiad* VI.7.1-7′, in C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, and J. Herrin (eds), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot 2003) 22. The twelfth-century frescoes depicting scenes from the hippodrome in Constantinople that tsar Vladimir Monomakh had painted in the Cathedral of St Sophia in Kiev, showed musicians, acrobats, and mimes. See Dauterman-Maguire and Maguire, *Other Icons*, 30.

100 *Syntagma*, II, 359.

101 According to Cameron, clergymen were part of the demes by the seventh century. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 82.

102 *Syntagma*, II, 359.

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should be treated as one group. But he also attacked any distinction made between clerics and laymen. He put forward the following comparison: as marriage was an acceptable alternative for those who could not remain virgins, so going to the hippodrome was an acceptable alternative for those who could not abstain from all earthly pleasures. Although abstaining from such forms of entertainment was praiseworthy for clerics, it was not necessary, especially if they were to go only once rather than make a habit out of it.[103]

One more argument reported by the canonist distorted logic. Balsamon stated:

> If we were to forbid every chariot race, both those of the olden times and those of now and we also forbade all spectacles and hunts (κυνήγια), someone would be forced to say that none of this is allowed at any time, neither to the emperor nor to anyone else. And then even hare-hunting with dogs (κυναρίων λαγοκυνήγια) would stop being practiced, lest laymen who spend time at the hippodrome or in spectacles and hunts (κυνήγια) might be excommunicated, a thing which would clearly be absurd.[104]

Balsamon's argument is a *reductio ad absurdum*. He links up the three activities and uses hunting as an umbrella term for them all. Yet the canonist knew very well that hunting was not prohibited. The canons did not speak of κυνήγια or κυναρίων λαγοκυνήγια, the words that he uses here, but rather of κυνηγίων θεώρια, a phrase which Balsamon explained in his commentary on canon 51 of Trullo, as beast fights (θηριομαχίες).[105] He does not object to this manipulation of the evidence. This strongly suggests that he agreed with the opinions of his contemporaries who thought that clerics should not be excluded from such forms of entertainment. Indeed Balsamon proposed that recreational activities should be divided into two categories based on their propriety: 'those that should be avoided by all, to which neither clerics nor laymen are allowed to go through fear of excommunication; and those that are permitted, which also take place in our days, to which not only laymen but also clerics will go without being punished'.[106]

103 *Syntagma*, II, 357.

104 See *Syntagma*, II, 358: Εἰ γὰρ πᾶσα ἱπποδρομία ἥ τε ἔκπαλαι τελουμένη, καὶ ἡ σήμερον γινομένη, ἀπαγορεύεται κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ πάντα τὰ θεώρια, καὶ τὰ κυνήγια, ἀναγκασθήσεταί τις εἰπεῖν, μηδὲ ὅλως γίνεσθαί τι τοιοῦτον ποτὲ τῶν καιρῶν παρὰ βασιλέως, ἢ ἑτέρου τινός· ἀπρακτῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ μετὰ κυναρίων λαγοκυνήγια, ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ λαϊκοὶ εἰς ἱπποδρομίας, καὶ θεωρίας, καὶ κυνήγια ἀσχολούμενοι, ἀφορισμῷ ὑποπέσωσιν, ὅπερ ἄτοπον.

105 *Syntagma*, II, 426. Balsamon also hints at the real meaning of the word κυνηγίων θεώρια earlier on in the same paragraph, where talking about the old hippodrome he says: 'They allowed also animal fighting (*θηριομαχίας*), and other disgraceful and indecent things. For this reason, they say, that also the fifty-first canon of the present synod forbids mimes and theatres and beast fights (τὰ τῶν κυνηγίων θεώρια) and dances on the stage', see *Syntagma*, II, 358.

106 *Syntagma*, II, 359.

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Conclusion

Overall, the view of the canonists may be summarized as such: 'for all Christians it has been ordered not to go where there is blasphemy'.[107] The canonists believed that activities should be divided not on the basis of lay and clerical distinctions but based on their propriety.[108] Questions of higher clerical standards and the need to provide an example to the laity, were conspicuously absent from most of their discussion. This would have been counterproductive for Balsamon who argued for lay-clerical equality. Zonaras too presents us with an equalising picture, focusing more on the maintenance of a rather high standard for everyone, a standard that was linked not to clerical or lay status but to the dignity of the Christian name. The major distinction between clergy and laity seems to have occurred when they performed their liturgical duties. Inside the sanctuary or by the side of a dying parishioner who needed to receive the last rite, priests would have been transformed by the divine grace bestowed upon them through ordination. In other contexts, however, it was enough for them to observe the high standards expected from *all* Christians.

107 See *Syntagma*, III, 333, 335: καὶ πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς κεκήρυκται μὴ προσιέναι, ὅπου βλασφημίαι εἰσί.

108 Cf. M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge 1995) 114–15, 152. He argues that the Church in this period strove to maintain 'clear boundaries between the laity and the clergy'.

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Four Scandinavian ship graffiti from Hagia Sophia*

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This paper is the first presentation of four graffiti from the church of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, and a contribution to the study of Viking graffiti of sailing vessels.

The term 'graffiti' signifies the act of writing or drawing on a hard surface. It also has a connotation of frivolity and destruction of the original. Graffiti are to be found incised on the walls and pillars of innumerable churches and often in places where they remain invisible for a long time. Most of them are valuable as examples of medieval art and some are important for their preservation of particular styles of epigraphy. In Constantinople in particular, they are to be found in the Great Church, the church of the Holy Wisdom Hagia Sophia, which was the greatest Christian cathedral for the Byzantine Christian world and the most important religious edifice in Constantinople.[1] It is not surprising that all visitors to the imperial city, be they worshippers or ordinary tourists, first went to Hagia Sophia, a building of great fame; nor is it surprising that the individual worshippers have succumbed to the temptation of scratching graffiti on the marble revetments, balustrades, window-frames, doors and columns of the church. Some visitors inscribed their names, perhaps in the belief that they would receive salvation if their names were located inside the church of Hagia Sophia. Others may have written there because their freedom of expression was restricted elsewhere.

Curiously, the vast majority of graffiti are concentrated in almost all parts of the second-story aisles or galleries in Hagia Sophia.[2] It is also appropriate to recall here that these places are called *catechoumena* or, very rarely, *gynaikeion*.[3] Each is a corridor

* I would like to express my warmest thanks to Professor J. Bill for his help and valuable suggestions. Needless to say, any errors are my own.

1 Regarding the church of Hagia Sophia, see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1977) 84–96, and R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, 3. Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd edn (Paris 1969) 455–70.

2 In the nave and aisles below, I found only four graffiti, in the western end of the church.

3 According to T. Mathews (*The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park 1971) 133) 'the original and principal use of the galleries was probably for catechumens'. R. Taft ('Women at church in Byzantium: Where, when — and why?', *DOP* 52 (1998) 31) has good grounds for

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situated over the narthex and aisles of the church, usually open to the nave through arcades or colonnades.[4] The public entrance to the galleries is at the northern end of the narthex, where a spiral ramp leads to the western and northern galleries. For the sake of brevity, I cannot embark into details here[5], but suffice it to say that, according to the traditional view, the upper galleries were considered to be a place for women or used as a means of segregation of genders and social classes.[6] However, if we accept the view of scholars such as Thomas Mathews and Robert Taft, then it would be incorrect to state that 'the galleries were the place of the women exclusively' or that they 'were reserved for the exclusive use of either catechumens or women'.[7] In confirmation, it should be noted that certain sections of these galleries were exclusively reserved for the empress and her female attendants, or for the emperor and his male entourage, while other parts were used, on occasion, for synods of the Church.[8] Although a significant number of imperial rituals took place in the galleries, liturgical activity was insubstantial there.[9] Moreover, some galleries seem to have been used for a bewildering variety of activities, both legitimate and less so.[10] Nevertheless, in the absence of any textual evidence, it is hard to conclude anything *pro* or *contra* regarding the presence (or not) of ordinary laity, male or female, in the other galleries.[11] In my view, some support for

Continued

arguing that the term *gynaikion* 'is used to designate areas on the ground floor assigned, presumably, to the women'.

4 Regarding the galleries of Hagia Sophia and some of their functions, see Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 128–33.

5 The reader is directed to the relevant passages and conclusions in Taft, 'Women at church', 31, 34, 41–2, 49, 55–6, 59, 62, 86–7.

6 Regarding the different views on the galleries cf. Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 125–6, 130–3. In Hagia Sophia, as in all the large churches in the East, women and men were segregated for cultural and moral reasons; in most churches, women occupied the north side and men the south side (churches were always oriented to the east). See S. Gerstel, 'Painted sources for female piety in medieval Byzantium', *DOP* 52 (1998) 91–92. See also Taft, 'Women at church', 57, who even notes a funeral rubric in an eleventh-century codex that calls for the body of the deceased to be placed on the right (south) side of the church if male, and on the left (north) side if female. However, most textual evidence for Hagia Sophia indicates that women occupied both the north and south aisles, with men in the central part of the nave.

7 See Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 131 and Taft, 'Women at church', 49, 62.

8 For details, see Taft, 'Women at church', 42.

9 We should note that ordinations to the priesthood, loyalty oaths, ecclesiastical synods, miraculous cures, and exorcisms were all administered there. There can be added to this, reference to distributing stipends (*roga*) of the clergy, to imperial receptions and dinners, to sessions of the ecclesiastical tribunal and meetings of the standing synod, etc. See in particular Taft, 'Women at church', 59.

10 Taft (loc. cit.) emphasized that the galleries were employed 'for just about every imaginable purpose, legitimate or not, including even temporary lodgings and sexual dalliance'. He also noted that 'women and the imperial party attend liturgy in the galleries and have the sacrament brought to them there' and that 'oratories and the imperial apartment, refectory, and loge-*metatorion* could all be located there.' Cf. Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 133.

11 This is the conclusion of R. Taft ('Women at church', 42).

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'*pro*' comes from the graffiti on the columns, walls and balustrades in the galleries. They seem to provide some evidence for the presence of ordinary people there. The question is whether the graffiti were scratched during a service or not. The answer to this question opens the door to various hypotheses. It is true that a significant proportion of the worshippers had plenty of time to scratch something into the marble due to the long services in the church. However, such an assumption would make us conclude that the galleries were open for everyone at any time. While this explanation is quite plausible, it is also possible that the visitor would walk through the empty galleries just to see how large the church was. In so doing, he might succumb to the temptation of scratching his name, following the example of many others before him. It should be said here that both explanations are plausible but we are not yet in a position to say precisely, in every individual case, whether the graffito was inscribed during the liturgy or not. In supporting one of the above possibilities we must turn our attention to the location, dimensions, depth and details of each graffito. All we can say with any assurance is that the upper galleries were a preferable place for graffiti because they were far from the direct view of any clergy officiating in the chancel.

Thematically, the graffiti may be divided into memoranda, inscribed mainly on the occasion of attendance at the church, various inscriptions of an invocative nature, human and animal figures, magical figures, ships, coats-of-arms, weapons, monograms and mason's marks. The autographic, supplicatory inscriptions containing the formula 'Lord, help Your servant X' and those with the formula 'X wrote' occur frequently. The graffiti are written in Greek, Cyrillic, Armenian and Latin script letters.[12] The forms of the letters in the graffiti of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries mainly agree with the paleography of written documents, the differences being accounted for by the specific technique of scratching out the inscriptions. The dating of the graffiti (except for dated inscriptions) was ascertained by paleographical comparison with dated

12 I directed my investigation mainly to the Cyrillic inscriptions. At Hagia Sophia I had ample opportunity to find separate letters and short texts scratched as graffiti in the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets. Today they number a total of 62 signs. I have published some of them: 'Edin patriarcheski grafit ot hrama "Sv. Sofia" v Konstantinopol' in Srednovekonnijat bulgarin I „drugite", *Sbornik v chest na 60-godishninata na prof. Petâr Angelov* (Sofia 2012) 227–30; 'Igra na "dama" v hrama "Sv. Sofia", Konstantinopol' in *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie: obstestvo, vlast, istorija, Sbornik v chest na prof. Miljana Kajmakamova* (Sofia 2012) 439–55; 'Tri grafita na kirilitsa ot hrama "Sv. Sofia" v Konstantinopol' in *Duhovnijat svjat na Aton* (V. Tŭrnovo 2013); 'Edin grafit za Hristovite strasti v "Sv. Sofia", Konstantinopol' in *QUOD DEUS VULT! Sbornik v chest na prof. Krasimira Gagova* (http://www.mediaevalia.eu); 'Tri risynki-grafiti ot "Sv. Sofia", Konstantinopol' in *Srednovekovnijat tchovek I negovijat svjat* (V. Tŭrnovo 2013). A Russian team of scholars-epigraphers (I. Zaitzev, J. Artamonov and A. Gyppius) searched the galleries of Hagia Sophia and published their findings in a series of articles. For a detailed survey of their publications, see Iu. Artamonov, A. Gippiys, 'Drevnerusskie nadpisi Sofii Konstantinopol'skoj', in *Slavjanskij al'manach 2011* (Moscow 2012). Here I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Professor Alexej Gyppius who kindly sent me information about his discoveries and a copy of the paper cited above. A paleographic analysis shows without doubt the Russian origin of almost all the Cyrillic inscriptions. It seems to me that Bulgarians wrote only three of them.

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written records.[13] We must also bear in mind that only a small number have been published because much interest has been focused on the structure, interior decoration and arrangement of Hagia Sophia. On the other hand, each graffito-inscription is a piece in the gigantic puzzle of the church's medieval history. If the graffiti were studied together, they would reveal an uncommon perspective on its history because the graffiti have not undergone any alteration. Furthermore, they reflect the thoughts of the authors who were often uneducated. The role of the historian is to piece the puzzle together and interpret its meaning.

The ship graffiti incised into the walls and columns of the upper gallery of Hagia Sophia was the subject of my fieldwork in 2010 and 2011. My research revealed drawings of sea vessels, nearly 35 in all, some crude and schematic, others remarkably detailed.[14] Since these graffiti are drawings by crew members, we might expect an emphasis on those parts of the ships with which the sailors were most directly involved, namely the sails, the oars and the rudder. In fact, an analytical study of these graffiti confirms this observation. The great diversity of the types of vessels represented in these drawings is clearly noticeable. Some of the ships' graffiti represent galleys, Viking ships, cogs, carracks, caravels and galleons. However, other graffiti are somewhat ambiguous, primarily due to poor carving. For this reason, it is not easy to determine the particular classification of a vessel based on a single graffito. Moreover, correlating the ships with the exact types mentioned in the historical texts and with shipwrecks is not always possible. Another difficulty with the pictorial studies of ships is to ascertain the 'nationality' to which the ships belonged. The types of ships and details of their rigging may give a hint of a ship's origins, but this is not always reliable because of common ship-building traditions around the Mediterranean. On the other hand, several graffiti can be identified as Genoese ships by the banner on the stern with St. George's cross.

In general, it may be said that ship graffiti provide an important source of information about the sailing vessels and their equipment in the Byzantine seas. They are physical evidence of people with anxieties and beliefs, passions and fears. They serve as a visual link between the present and the past; between the modern visitor and the man who wrote on the walls so many years ago. Only four of the maritime graffiti are connected to Viking sailing vessels and, in the present paper, I concentrate my attention

13 Unfortunately, there are only two inscriptions containing the typical datatio formula: 'In the year of ...'. I submitted one of them for publication in 'In the year of 6905', *Bulgaria Medievalis* 4 (2013) (in press).

14 I am planning to publish them in another study. Unfortunately, I am not yet in a position to say definitely that there are only 35 ship graffiti. As one can easily verify, it is extremely difficult to see what is concealed behind the enormous photos arranged in the entire north gallery. Nevertheless, I was able to look behind the photos in the central part of the gallery and to discover one galley with human figures on board and two cogs. However, such an action is banned today. It should be noted that only two ship graffiti have been published so far. For them, see O. Meinardus, 'Medieval navigation according to akidographemata in Byzantine churches and monasteries', *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 6 (1970–72) 39; L. Bash, 'Graffiti navals grecs', *Le petit perroquet* 22 (1978) 54–5.

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on these.[15] The first, located in the south gallery, shows a ship with a dragonhead on the prow. In the same place as the first graffito, we can see the second, which portrays the stems of three ships in a line. Another graffito, also in the same gallery, depicts two vessels in profile with high bows. Situated at the western end of the north gallery, the fourth graffito depicts a warship.

As I shall explain more fully, the graffiti indicate that various sea peoples, who probably originated from Scandinavia, visited Hagia Sophia. The information gathered from the analysis of the graffiti will also provide a primary research source for naval archaeologists and historians, helping them to understand the evolution of shipping types through the ages.

Focusing on the first graffito, we see that it is of particular interest because it is in the form of a complete ship. It is to be found in the western bay of the south gallery of the church. It was scratched into the northwest column (that is to say, immediately after entering the gallery) at approximately 1.39 cm from the floor by someone who was apparently standing up. The hull is long and narrow with a length of 14 cm and a height of 1.5 cm. Unfortunately, the technical details specific to the ship that can be extrapolated from the picture are few because only the stem, the most conspicuous part of the ship, (but not the whole vessel), is incised deeply into the marble (Photo 1). The ship, depicted from the port side, has a dragon-head adorning the prow. The animal head has a length of approximately 2.5 centimetres and a height of 4.5 centimetres. It is also worth noting the decorated stempost.[16] Some of the lines on the stem could be interpreted as lines of the planking. This might be a convincing sign that the graffito-vessel was almost certainly Scandinavian, resembling the Oseberg ship, for example.[17] The motif on the aft-stem is more difficult to define nowadays. Two round shields of the warriors are hung over the vessel's sheer strake (that is to say, the top strake of the hull). This may have been their position in harbour and perhaps when

15 The marble also bears witness, in the form of a runic inscription (on balustrades and under a blind window on the eastern bay of the north gallery) and drawing of axes (situated on the wall-slab of the west pillar in the north gallery), to a Viking visit. For runic inscriptions, see E. Svfärdström, 'Runorna i Hagia Sophia', *Fornvännen* 3 (1970) 247.

16 A number of finds have revealed that the upper woodwork of vessels might have been decorated. Perhaps the clearest example of this is the carving to be seen on both of the stems of the early ninth-century Oseberg ship from Norway. The upper strakes of the later ninth-century Norwegian Gokstad ship have zigzag lines carved into them which may have been painted; and the Ladby vessel from Denmark also appears to have had mouldings incised along the edges of some of her planking which were very similar, it is thought, to those on the Gokstad ship. For this, see A. N. Sørensen, 'Ladby: A ship grave from the Viking age', in O. Crumlin-Pedersen and O. Olsen (eds.), *Ships and Boats of the North*, III (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum 2001) 239–40; O. Crumlin-Pedersen and O. Olsen, 'The Skuldelev ships: Topography, archaeology, history, conservation and display', in O. Crumlin-Pedersen and O. Olsen (eds.), *Ships and Boats of the North*, IV (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum 2001) 274–5.

17 The Oseberg ship, the best preserved Viking ship, has carved spirals at the bow and stern. See A. Brögger, *The Oseberg Ship* (New York 1921); A. Hagen, *Les Bateaux Vikings* (Oslo 1961) 6–18; Kulturhistorisk museum: http://www.khm.uio.no/utstilling/faste/vikingskipene/oseberg_eng.html

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Photo 1 A ship with dragonhead. South gallery, Hagia Sophia

sailing, but obviously they would have to be moved for rowing, and they can hardly have been secure when the ship was under sail.[18] One vertical line in the middle of the ship constitutes the mainmast. Typically, the Viking ships had a central mast which was mounted in a block of wood. The mast, which could be raised and lowered, supported a large square sail made of heavy woollen or linen cloth. In our graffito-vessel the mast is raised and without a sail. On the side of the vessel two lightly sloping lines towards the prow and two downwards signify her oars. The Viking ship had a single bank of oars which were either rowed from benches affixed to the frames of the hull, or the rowers sat on hide-covered chests which contained their personal possessions. However, in our graffito we are given a hint of moorings instead of oars. Collating this with the position of the shields and the lack of a sail on the mast, we suggest that the ship-graffito represented a vessel in harbour. Another detail is a side rudder at the aft.[19] As one

18 Both coins and picture stones from the Viking Age depict shields arrayed along the gunwale of a Viking ship. Additionally, the sagas state that shields were displayed. In Brennu-Njáls saga (*The Story of Burnt Njal*, English, transl. George W. Dasent, http://www.njala.is/en/burnt-njal/burnt-njal-in-english/ ch. 83), for example, Kári and his ten ships rowed hard to join a sea battle, with row after row of shields on display along the sides of the ships. Icelandic law ('Landnámabók') (H. Pálsson, P. Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnamabok* (Winnipeg 1972) §156, 74) tells of Hella-Björn Herfinnsson who sailed into Bjarnarfjörður with his ship lined with shields. Afterwards, he was called 'Skjalda-Björn' (Shield-Björn).

19 The rudder on a ship of the Viking Age was a side rudder. We may also refer to the examples from Bergen, Gokstad and Oseberg in Norway, and Osrra Aros in Sweden. Two rudders found at Vorsa and

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can easily verify, the rudder was essentially a huge oar attached to the starboard side of the ship. In our case, however, it is shown as being on the port side. The other structure in the aft (with two vertical lines meeting one line slanting downwards to the aft) could be a type of cabin. As is always the case with graffiti, the problem resides in how far one can trust them.

If we try to compare the graffito ship with our knowledge of Viking vessels and archaeological evidence, we can see clearly that the narrow design of the hull, the animal head and the row of overlapping shields, as well as the tall, slender character of the stem, indicate that it can be considered as a Viking-Age warship with a dragon-head.

Warships were built for speed and manoeuvrability, and for the transport of men and loot from raids.[20] They were slender and had holes for the oars in a continuous line along the length of the ship, a mast that could be lowered, as well as a large, square sail.[21] Their main source of propulsion was the oar, with the mast lowered to reduce wind resistance and to improve stability. They are also distinct from other types of ships through having a shield-batten on the outer side of the top strake, and some ships were furnished with figureheads (and sometimes tails).

Without going into unnecessary details it will be sufficient to recall that the interest in the appearance and functions of Viking ships dates back a considerable time. Most of our knowledge in this field has been gained both from the sagas and from the excavation of the burial-sites at Tune, Gokstad, and Oseberg in Norway.[22] The ritual purpose of the burial ships was to transport the departed to another world. The ships excavated at these famous sites provided an insight into the shipbuilding of the early Viking Age and presumably represent a universal ship-type used for warfare, trade or voyages of colonization.[23] The archaeological evidence, provided by the vessels excavated at Ladby (1934–36), Skuldelev, Hedeby and Roskilde fjord in Denmark, between 1962 and 1997, reveals ship-types for more specialized activities such as trading (cargo ships) or warfare (warships, used also for travel). In other words, by the year AD 1000, a clear difference in the details of hull design and rigging had been established between the ships of the late Viking Age and the earlier ship-type from Norway. However, all of

Continued

Lungshoved in Denmark are described by O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Two Danish side rudders', *Mariner's Mirror* 52 (1966) 251–61. The ships in Duke William's invasion fleet are shown in the Bayeux Tapestry as having side rudders. The rudder of the Scandinavian ships remained side-mounted until approximately 1250–1300, when they started to rear-mount the rudder instead.

20 J. Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World*, 3rd edn (London 2001) 46.

21 K. Wolf, *Daily Life of the Vikings* (Toronto 2004) 85.

22 We know a great deal about Viking ships from the memorial stones (particularly from Gotland in Sweden), coins, tapestries (such as the Bayeux Tapestry), and graffiti from Dublin, Shetland, and Norway. Poems and law codes also provide important information. Modern reconstructions of Viking Age ships offer insights into the construction and sailing characteristics of the originals.

23 F. Logan, *The Viking in History*, 2nd edn (London 1991) 29.

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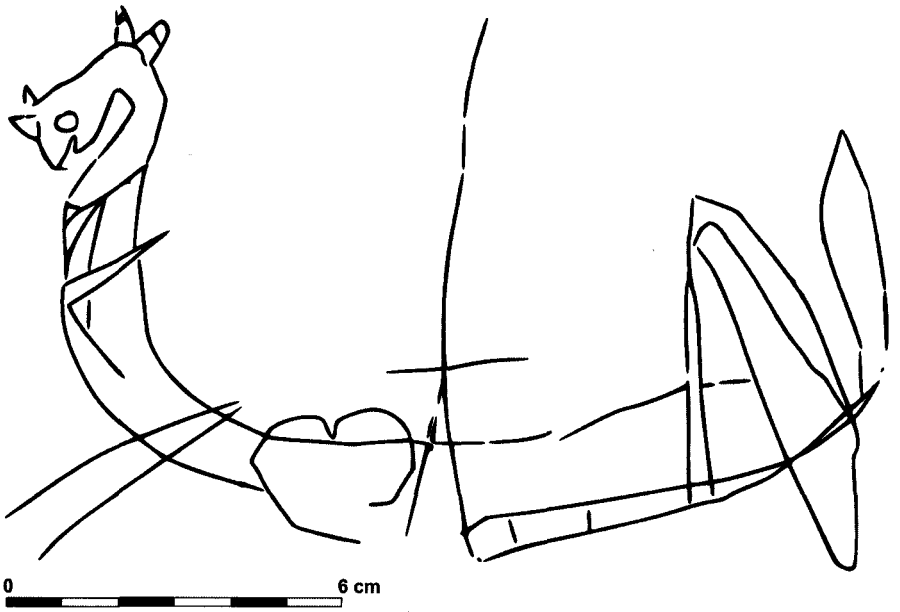


Figure 1

them belong to the same tradition of shipbuilding, being ckinker-built (the hull is constructed of overlapping planks), with a double-ended hull.[24]

It is generally acknowledged that 'long ships' or *langskips* are 'Viking' ships. However, it is worth remembering that any kind of ship could be long and that 'long ship' is not a technical term.[25] The most general term for a vessel which can denote both a warship and a cargo-ship is *skip* or *knorr* (in Sweden at least).[26] It also occurs in compounds such as *herskip* (warship), *langskip* (long ship) or *kaupskip* (merchant ship).[27] *Skeið* is a warship, but it is unclear whether or not it denotes a particular type of warship.[28] Another name is *snekkja* which appears from the middle of the eleventh century and apparently it was smaller than a *skeið*.[29] For this reason, I am inclined to use the term 'warship' for the graffito-vessel. In this scheme of things, behind the kenning *dreki* (drake), we can probably see a poetic conceit for a large warship and not a ship-term proper.[30]

24 O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Ship types and sizes AD 800–1200', in O. Crumlin-Pedersen (ed.), *Aspects of Maritime Scandinavia AD 200–1200* (Roskilde 1991) 69–82; O. Crumlin-Pedersen, *The Skuldelev Ships I: Topography, Archaeology, History, Conservation and Display* (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum 2002) 303–8.

25 Attention has already been drawn to this fact by J. Jesch. For details, see J. Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age* (Woodbridge 2001) 122.

26 Jesch, *Ships and Men*, 120, 130, 136.

27 Ibid., 122.

28 Ibid., 123.

29 Ibid., 126.

30 Ibid., 127.

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The problem now is to identify the ship-type represented by the graffito. It appears to depict relatively short vessels, rather than the extremely elongated form of some of the warships from the late Viking Age. It is also questionable whether true longships would have been particularly suitable for the lengthy voyage on the Russian rivers to Constantinople instead of relatively small and shallow vessels. It should also be noted that in many places, such as Russia, the journey involved carrying the ships themselves overland for short distances, and the smaller ships were apparently much more suitable for this.[31] The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the above factors is that the graffiti represent a universal ship-type from the early Viking Age used for warfare or trade. Some support for this earlier date derives from the drawing style of the dragon-head. The ribbon-shaped body with protruding ears shows similarities with the Borre style (c. AD 840–970).

However, what is most important in the graffito-vessel is that the drawing is focused on the dragon-head, rather than on the whole ship. It is not difficult to provide a reason for this. The dragon-head was also intended to express the status of the ship's owner. It served as a visual symbol of power, wealth, and prestige.[32] Any ship could be called a dragon if equipped with an animal-shaped head on the stem.

Grotesque, carved animal heads (particularly of dragons - 'serpents') were often used by the Vikings to adorn the prows of their warships and were one of the most prominent parts of the ship. It is a northern European custom dating back to at least the 1st–2nd centuries AD, as is confirmed by Norwegian rock-carvings.[33] Dragons were a favourite figure-head for Viking ships, but unfortunately no actual example has survived.[34] Such vessels were the pride of their owners, displaying craftsmanship of superb quality.[35]

There is also good reason to believe that in some cases, if not in all, the dragon-head was not permanently fixed to the prow, but could be attached and detached at will.[36] Moreover, when not being used, the ships were kept in sheds and while they were there everything that was not secure was removed, even planks of the deck and the

31 O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Schiffe und Schiffahrtswege im Ostseeraum während des 9-12. Jahrhunderts', *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 69 (1988) 530–63.

32 M. Sprague, *Norse Warfare: The Unconventional Battle Strategies of the Ancient Vikings* (New York 2007) 90.

33 They are known from picture stones in Gotland, from the Bayeux Tapestry and from a carved piece of wood found in Bergen. See A. S. Gräslund, 'Drakar i Uppåkra', in B. Hårdh (Hrg.), *Fler fynd i centrum. Materialstudier i och kring Uppåkra* (Stockholm 2003) 179–88 with reference.

34 P. du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, II (Paris 1890) 132; Jesch, *Ships and Men* 145. Five animal heads were found in the Oseberg grave, but none of them belonged to the ship. The figures were probably used in religious processions. The carving found in the Gokstad ship burial decorated a chieftain's bed post. However, these beautiful animal heads can give us an indication of how the dragon heads that adorned the Viking ships might have appeared.

35 Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, 152; See also G. Jones, *The Norse Atlantic Saga* (London 1964) 191–201; Jesch, *Ships and Men*, 150 (it could easily be cut down to make access to the warriors on the enemy ship easier).

36 Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, 153; A. Forte, R. Oram, Fr. Pedersen, *Viking Empire* (Cambridge 2005) 149.

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dragon-heads.[37] This gives us the reason for the disappearance of the dragon-heads. They have not survived mainly because of their mobility. Icelandic law ('Landnámabók') stated that the stem dragons should be removed on approaching land lest the island's guardian spirits took flight.[38] This also indicates that the dragon-heads had an apotropaic effect.[39] Ships without removable dragon-heads sometimes had spiralling snakes at the bow and stern.[40] The toothy and bug-eyed figureheads on Viking ships would scare away enemies and evil spirits both on land and sea. They would provide protection for ships and their crews. The dragon-head made it easy to recognize a certain ship and clearly showed *who* the leader was and *where* he was in battle. As with the ornamentation of the stern, the purpose of the figure-head was often to indicate the name of the ship in a non-literate society (albeit in a sometimes convoluted manner)[41] and *possibly*, in the case of naval ships, to demonstrate the owner's status and prestige. This also means that common people would have owned or served on plainer vessels.

In Viking culture, the warship was the ultimate expression of their dynamism, its importance reflected in the proliferation of ship representations found on their memorial stones, coinage and in their graffiti. Love of their ships also continued into the afterlife, as indicated by the magnificent Gokstad and Oseberg ship burials and by the custom of using a man's ship as his funeral pyre.[42]

The obvious conclusion drawn from the findings above is that we are dealing with the ship graffito of a Scandinavian vessel from the early Viking Age, which represented the property of a wealthy man. Thus, the problem is to identify the ship's owner. Given the meagre evidence at our disposal, it would be unwise to attempt such an identification. This individual must be sought from among those Nordic leaders (sometimes expelled or banished from their lands who acted as naval condotiers, undertaking service with whoever appeared to offer the best prospects of pay and loot.[43] It is well-known that there was significant contact between Byzantium and the northerners from the ninth century onwards. The latter came to the Byzantine capital through the mediation of the Kievan Rus, who were partly of Nordic origin.[44] Many such Vikings,

37 Chaillu, *The Viking Age* 148.

38 The evidence comes from the redaction known as 'Hauksbók', which was written c. 1306–8, a translation that is in R. Page, *Chronicles of the Vikings: Records, Memorials, and Myths* (Toronto 1995) 174.

39 *Old Norse Religion in Longterm Perspectives. Origins, Changes and Interactions*, ed. A. Andrén, K. Jennlert, C. Randvere (Lund 2006) 125.

40 Sprague, *Norse Warfare*, 331.

41 Ibid., 90.

42 H. Davidson, *The Lost Beliefs of Northern Europe* (London 1993) 19.

43 K. N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: the West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden 1996) 106; *Kulturistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, XIX (Copenhagen/Malmö 1975) s.v. 'Varjagar'. For the early period it is difficult to distinguish between Russians and Scandinavians.

44 Swedish Vikings, who established themselves in Kiev as rulers over the native Slavic population, who called them Rus hence 'Russia'. In AD 860 they launched a daring – albeit unsuccessful – attack on Constantinople (Miklagaard or 'The Great Town', as they called it) by sailing their ships down the Dnieper and across

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referred to by the Rus, Arabs and Byzantines alike as 'Varangians', went on to Constantinople and joined the Byzantine army, after a spell in Russia[45] as happened in AD 911, 935, 941, 955 and 968. Twenty years later, in 988, prince Vladimir of Kiev sent as many as 6000 Vikings to assist the emperor Basil II, and it was from among these warriors that the renowned Varangian guard was subsequently established. [46]

In seeking the evidence for our assumption, proposed above, we need to consult written sources such as the sagas. They narrate the journey of some northerners to Byzantium. However, the only certain visitor among the Nordic leaders to Constantinople was Harald Sigurdsson (or Harald Hardrada).[47] There is reason to think that the journeys of all the others are historically somewhat dubious.

The second graffito (Fig. 2) is to be found at the western end of the north gallery. It has been incised into the marble column which is located near the public entrance, at approximately 1.70 cm from the floor (Photo 2). It is clearly a warship because of the shape of its hull. The sailing direction is towards the left and the vessel is 10 cm long. The forward slanting, straight stem is not present on Viking ships, but there are depictions with straight, vertical stems. Parallels for this graffito can be found among the ship graffiti from Himmelev Church.[48] The vessel also has a single mast and a square sail. The slanting line behind the mast perhaps indicates a side rudder.

The third graffito (Fig. 3) is on the opposite side of the marble column from the first graffito. At approximately 1.52 cm from the floor the stems of three ships can be seen, in

Continued

the Black Sea. Further major campaigns against the Byzantine Empire were to follow in 907, 941 and 944, by which time the Rus had already begun to be assimilated by their Slavic subjects and could no longer truly be regarded as Vikings. The Byzantines, expressing their contempt, called the open craft of the Russians *monoxyla* or mere dug-out canoes but the sagas and the rune-stones assert that the Swedish and the Danish vessels were the equals of those of the Norse. S. Franklin, J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750-1200* (New York 1996) 29–50, 91–100, 113–51.

45 Sizable groups of them were hired as mercenaries by successive Kievan and Novgorodian princes — a practice that continued well into the eleventh century, the last reference to Viking mercenaries in Russia dating to 1043.

46 V.G. Vasil'evskij, 'Varjago-russkaja i varjago-anglijskaja druzina v Konstantinopole', in *Trudy*, I (St. Petersburg 1908); E.A. R'dzevskaja, *Drevnjaja Rus' I Skandinavija IX-XIV vv.* (Moscow 1978); E.A. Mel'nikova, 'Varjagi, varangi, veringi: skandinavts' na Rusi I v Vizantii', *VV* 55 (1998) 159–64; G. Schramm, 'Die Waräger: Osteuropäsche Schiksale einer nordgermanischen Gruppenbezeichnung', *Die Welt der Slawen* 28 (1983) 38–67; S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium: an Aspect of Byzantine Military History*, transl., rev. edn. by B. Benedikz (New York 1978) 194–5; H. R. E. Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London 1976) 159, 162. Cf. also Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, 107. The latest evidence of their visit to the church is a Cyrillic inscription from the eleventh century, which is the following: 'Игорь оулминге тутї s' (Igor Ulminge wrote this).

47 He was the half-brother of King Olaf of Norway (who was to be canonized shortly afterwards) and one of the most illustrious Varangians. See Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, 108.

48 The church was erected in the first half of the twelfth century on a ridge overlooking the inner waters of Roskilde Fjord in Denmark. See O. Kastolm, 'Six ship graffiti from Himmelev Church', *Maritime Archaeology Newsletter of Denmark* 26 (2011) 30.

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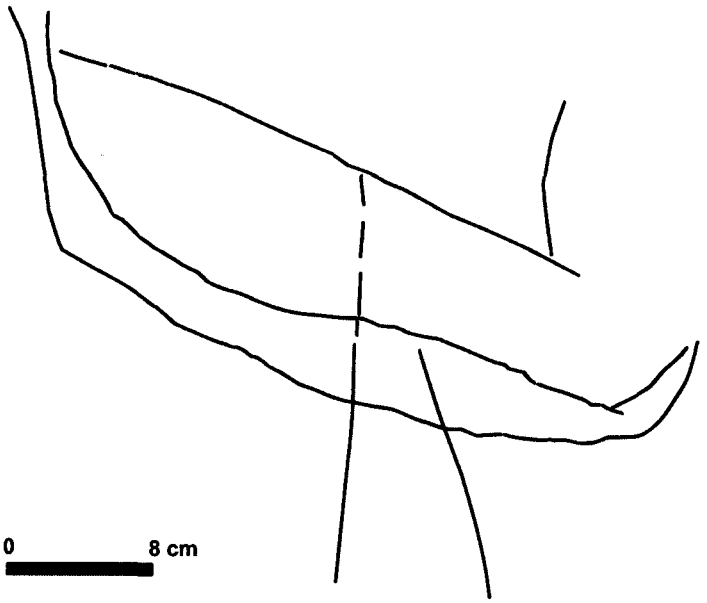


Figure 2



Photo 2 Warship. North gallery, west end, Hagia Sophia.

a line, overlapping each other so that one has the impression of looking at a fleet of ships (Photo 3). Most often only the stems and not whole ships are depicted. It is not difficult to

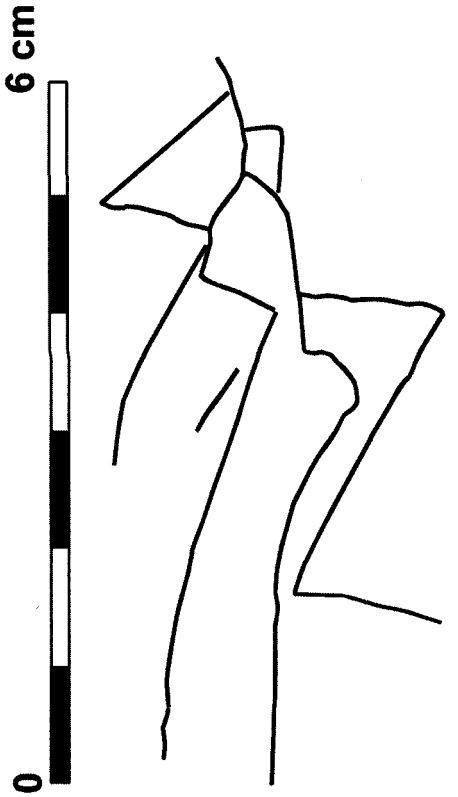


Figure 3

provide reasons for this, bearing in mind that the stem was the most prominent feature of the ship. Support for such a view comes from the text in Snorri Sturluson's Saga about Olav Tryggvason's ship called 'Long Serpent'.[49] Unlike a literary text, our graffito does not tell us anything else about the ships. What then is the explanation? If we carefully examine the graffito, we shall find that the figure-heads, together with the tall, slender character of the stems, clearly show that the ships depicted in the fleet are indeed warships with dragon-heads arranged in battle order. As already stated, any Viking ship could be called a *drakar* if it was equipped with an animal-shaped head on the stem.

We can discern the same motif of ships in a line and some continuity of ship design on a piece of wood known as the 'Bryggen stick' found in Bergen, Norway. The stick was discovered in a stratum dating from between 1248 and 1332.[50] It shows a row of vessels

49 Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla, § 95 (http://omacl.org/Heimskringla/trygvason3.html): 'The ship was a dragon ... but this ship was far larger, and more carefully put together in all her parts. The king called this ship the Long Serpent ... The Long Serpent had thirty-four benches for rowers. The head and the arched tail were both gilt, and the bulwarks were as high as in sea-going ships. This ship was the best and most costly ship ever made in Norway.'

50 J. Bill, 'Ship graffiti', in http://www.vikingeskibsmuseet.dk/en/the-sea-stallion-past-and-present/longships-magnified/picture-sources/ship-graffiti/

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Photo 3 The stems of three ships in a row. South gallery, Hagia Sophia.

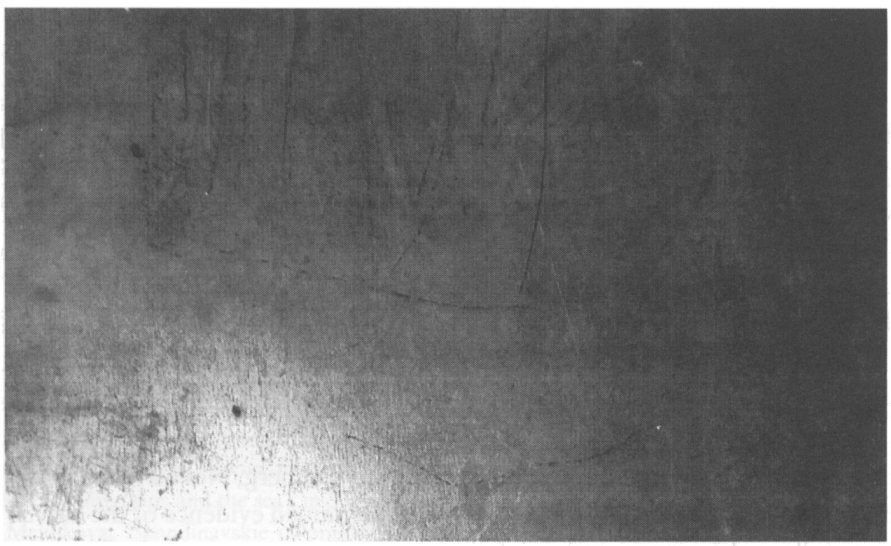


Photo 4 Two vessels in profile with high bows. South gallery, Hagia Sophia.

lying abreast of one another. Some of these ships have animal heads on their prows, others show vessels with wind vanes.

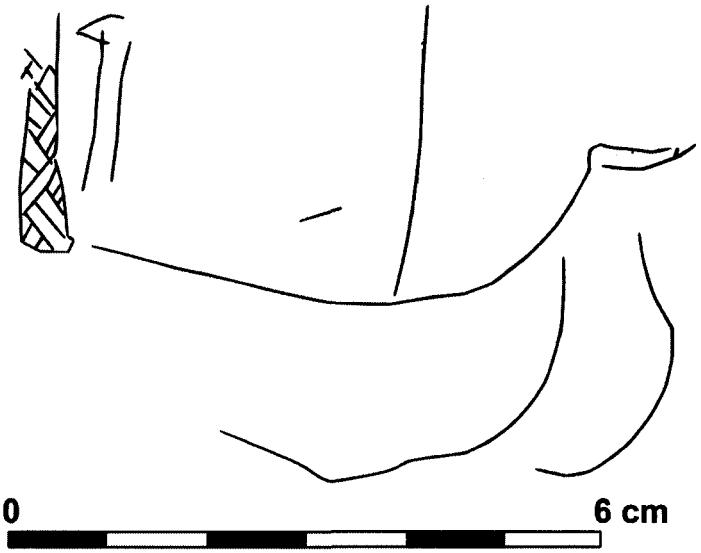


Figure 4

The fourth graffito is to be found on the east wall of the south gallery (Photo 4, Fig. 4). It has been incised into the right-hand side of the first marble window-frame, at approximately 1.30 cm from the floor. The two vessels depicted in profile are relatively small (7 x 4.5 cm), with high bows, and the sailing direction is to the left. The first ship shows the stem decorated with zigzag bends and the stern in the form of a tail. It has one mast and possibly a sail. Again, we can see that the drawing clearly depicts only the stem of the ship. We can conclude that the ship depicted is indeed a Viking warship because of the tall, slender character of the decorated stem. The second ship seems somewhat harder to categorize, primarily because of its poor carving. Only the high prow, without any decoration, is clearly visible, and it differs from the first one. However, it is more likely that the ship belongs to the type of Viking long ship. More specifically, the prow can be considered to be a pointer in that direction.

We can find parallels for this graffito in the Viking ships graffiti from the 'Bryggen stick' and from the north wall of the nave in the stave church at Fortun in Norway.[51] It is appropriate to recall that in common with other Viking objects, wooden ships were sometimes decorated. Striking examples of Viking wood carving, on both stems, were found in the early ninth-century ship burial site near Oseberg, Norway. The latter ninth-century Norwegian Gokstad ship burial site also contained evidence of the carved zigzag lines that follow the upper strakes of the vessel. The case of the Ladby vessel from Denmark is very similar; it also appears to have had mouldings incised along the edges

51 J. Bill, 'Ship graffiti', in http://www.vikingeskibsmuseet.dk/en/the-sea-stallion-past-and-present/longships-magnified/picture-sources/ship-graffiti/

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of some of the planking.[52] During the thirteenth century, the decorations, which proliferated in the Viking Age ships, gradually disappeared.[53]

The scratchings or carvings of ships are difficult to date but as a rule it is possible to give a *terminus ante quem* or a *terminus post quem* – a time before which or a time after which the graffito was made. The established contact between Byzantium and the northerners from the ninth century onwards and the similarities between the graffiti and the universal ship-type used for warfare or trade from the early Viking Age provide a *terminus post quem* of the second part of the ninth- beginning of the tenth century. The *terminus ante quem* is the year AD 1000, when a clear difference in the details of hull design and rigging had been established between the ships of the early and late Viking Age. In this scheme of things, we are dealing with a period not earlier than the middle of the ninth century, nor later than the end of the tenth century.

The place where these ship graffiti were incised should be mentioned. Their location in the most renowned Byzantine church which was also the biggest in the world at the time was not by chance. We might note that if a Scandinavian's first view of Constantinople inspired wonder, the church of Hagia Sophia, called *Egisif*, was the only edifice that was impressed on the collective Scandinavian memory.[54] Consequently, there is nothing strange about the appearance of the graffiti in this location.

Unfortunately, we will perhaps never know who made these drawings. However, the fact that the graffiti demonstrate surprising workmanship details such as sails, rudder, oars, mast, board and even decorated and carved prows leaves no doubt that they were made by people who knew about the sea and the ships. It seems highly probable that the drawings were made on marble by a skilled hand using a stylos, an awl or a small chisel.

I want to discover the reason for the appearance of the graffiti in question. According to M. Goudas, 'the reason for creating these representations ... cannot be other than simple amusement.'[55] Other scholars studying the graffiti have a different opinion. They characterize them as prayers of the seafarers who believed in the assistance they could receive from God or from gods.[56] Another possible explanation is given by N. Ovčarov, who writes that sailors loved their vessels as creatures with a soul and believed that their voice was heard when they creaked in a storm.[57] It is tempting, and not unreasonable, to choose one of the opinions cited above. However, if we consider their location, another possibility comes to mind. It clearly shows a complete lack of

52 Forte, Oram, Pedersen, *Viking Empire*, 148.

53 J. Bill, 'Viking ships and the sea', in S. Brink (ed.), *The Viking World* (London/ New York 2008) 179.

54 E. Melnikova, 'Skandinavskie palomniki v Konstantinopole', in *Istoriceskaya rol' Konstantinopolya* (Moscow 2003) 76.

55 M. Goudas, 'Μεσαιωνικὰ χαράγματα πλοίων ἐπὶ τοῦ Θησείου', *Βυζαντίς* 2 (1911) 329–57.

56 Maritime graffitti as prayers for divine protection are a well-established custom since Antiquity. See, for example, Meinardus, 'Medieval navigation' 31.

57 N. Ovčarov, *Ships and Shipping in the Black Sea XIV-XIX Centuries* (Sofia 1993) 9, 104–10 (in Bulgarian).

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interest in Byzantine liturgy by the artist: he was hidden behind a column or was with his back to the central part of the church. This suggests that the graffiti were a way to pass the time. Anyone who has attended the whole of a long Orthodox service can appreciate that worshippers had plenty of time to scratch something into the marble.

In conclusion, I would like to add these four ship graffiti to the Scandinavian presence in Byzantium.[58] They might be best taken as a sign of the Scandinavian activity in the Byzantine capital. Moreover, they are valuable sources in the efforts by scholars to reconstruct Viking vessels. In particular, this could be true for warships. Finally, it is important to note that many graffiti are in a bad state, mainly because of present-day vandalism. In light of this, more attention should be paid to preserving these testimonies from the past as they are an important part of our maritime heritage.

58 They are mainly runic inscriptions that have been found on a marble lion from Piraeus, now in Venice, and on a balustrade in the south gallery in Hagia Sophia.

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Heirs to Byzantium: identity and the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy amongst the Istanbul Greek migrant community in Greece*

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The Istanbul Greek migrant community resident in Greece exists in the space between two homelands and two identities, expressed in the dichotomy between the Hellenic and the Romaic. The migrants exploit this flexibility and ambivalence in Greek identity to contextually navigate a range of social pressures – diaspora, discrimination, alienation, and even financial collapse. At times they pursue assimilation with their host population as the most Hellenic of the Hellenes, whilst at other times they assume a Romaic identity to distinguish themselves from the mainland Greeks. Deploying an identity rooted in Byzantium, the Istanbul Greeks are able to be Greek but more than simply Hellenic.

> Inside every Greek dwell two figures in opposition … the Romios and the Hellene.[1]
>
> *Patrick Leigh Fermor*

> I am not a simple Hellene.
>
> *Tasoula, Istanbul Greek*

The Greeks of Istanbul were discriminated against as Orthodox Christian Greeks and, ultimately, most were forced out of their homeland in Turkey. The majority settled in Greece, where some felt they had found escape from persecution amongst Greek kin, and others felt they were exiles amongst cultural strangers; many felt both, at different times and in different contexts. In this article, I demonstrate how the Istanbul Greeks responded to the tensions created by this forced migration[2] from one nation-state to

* I am above all indebted to my informants from the Istanbul Greek community, who patiently responded to my questions. The guarantee of anonymity prevents me from thanking them by name. For their helpful commentaries on versions of this article, I would like to thank Geoffrey Cubitt, Sharon Macdonald, Iraklis Millas, and the anonymous reviewer of BMGS. The Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded research on which this article is based.

1 P. Leigh Fermor, *Roumeli: Travels in Northern Greece* (London 1966) 106.

2 I have chosen to use the term 'forced migrant' as a compromise that best represents the diverse experiences of the Istanbul Greeks. Most of my informants present their migration as forced, and resist the label

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another, or from a 'homeland' to a 'motherland', by stretching and negotiating the ambiguous potential in Greek identity – by contextually manipulating the two figures resident inside every Greek, the Hellene and the *Romiós*.

The findings of this article are based on thirty-eight testimonies collected during an oral history project amongst Istanbul Greeks living in Thessaloniki and Athens – fifteen informants are specifically referred to in the text (see Table 1).[3] A semi-structured interview technique was used, beginning with an invitation for a life history – solicited with the question 'tell me about your life' – followed up with specific questions (although as often as not my informants would offer an unsolicited life history without any prompting). Expressions of Hellenic and/or Romaic identity would normally emerge during the life history, although I also asked my informants to specifically define themselves later in the interview. Oral historian Alessandro Portelli correctly describes the oral history testimony as a collaborative text produced by the 'mutual sighting' between interviewer and informant, so I will briefly describe my own background and intentions as portrayed to my informants.[4] Before an interview began, I told my informants that I was studying how the Istanbul Greeks remember their lives, both in Turkey and in Greece. Interviewees were aware that they were speaking to an 'outsider' – I was born and raised in England and have no ancestral relationship to either Greece or Turkey, although I have spent a considerable amount of time in the former from a young age. Interviews were conducted in Greek, and the translations are my own.

Historical background

After the 1919–22 Greco-Turkish war and the subsequent flight of Orthodox Christians from Turkey – the Asia Minor Catastrophe – a compulsory exchange of populations was enforced between Greece and Turkey. The defining criterion for the exchange was religion: Turkish residents with Greek Orthodox religion were obliged to leave (or not return to) Turkey, and Muslims with Greek nationality were to leave Greece. At the insistence of the Greek authorities, the Istanbul Greeks[5] – numbering 110,000 – were exempted from this exchange, and remained in Turkey as a minority; of these, two-thirds, former Ottoman citizens, were given Turkish citizenship, whilst one third held Greek citizenship. The Istanbul Greeks were accorded some minority rights: they were allowed, for instance, to attend their own churches and be educated at minority schools that taught in both Greek and Turkish. To varying degrees, the Istanbul Greeks were integrated into

Continued

'migrant' for fear that it portrays their expatriation as an economic migration, although a few left of their own free will (for various reasons) and do not associate their migration with anti-minority persecution. Others were expelled in 1964 as Greek citizens (see below), and commonly call themselves expellees.

3 All informants are pseudonymized.

4 A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany 1991) 31.

5 As well as the Christians of Imbros and Tenedos.

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Table 1.

Dramatis personae.

Pseudonym	D.O.B.	Place of birth	Date of migration	Reason for leaving	Citizenship (in Istanbul/present)
Alexandra	1947	Istanbul	1971	Fear	Turkish/Greek
Dimitris	1956	Chalki (Princes' Islands)	1975	Seeking new experiences	Turkish/Greek and Turkish (pending)
Fotini	1943	Istanbul	c. 1973	Deteriorating situation	Not revealed
Fotis	1950	Istanbul (Beyoğlu)	1976	Deteriorating situation/ partner migrated	Turkish/Greek (c. 1980)
Gerasimos	1949	Istanbul	1964	Father expelled as Greek citizen	Turkish/Greek (c. 1964)
Ioanna	1944	Istanbul	1964	Parents' decision	Turkish/Greek (1982)
Kyriakos	1951	Istanbul (Beyoğlu)	1975	Discrimination/partner migrated	Turkish/Greek (1982)
Lefteris	1940	Istanbul	1971	Deteriorating situation	Turkish/Greek
Panagiotis	1946	Istanbul (Tarlabaşı)	1963	Deteriorating situation	Turkish/Greek (1983) and Turkish (2011)
Petros	1946	Istanbul (Beyoğlu)	1964	Discrimination/due for military service	Turkish/Greek (1985)
Spyros	1930	Istanbul (Kadıköy)	1964	Fear/partner migrated	Turkish/Greek (c. 1971)
Stefanos	1950	Istanbul (Tarlabaşı)	1964	Parents' decision	Turkish/Greek (1982)
Tasoula	c. 1951–1953	Istanbul (Tarlabaşı)	1964	Parents' decision	Turkish/Greek (c. 1980)
Thekla	1950	Istanbul (Kadıköy)	1977	Deteriorating situation	Turkish/Greek (1992)
Vangelis	1934	Istanbul	1980	Partner wanted to migrate/ declining minority population	Turkish/Greek (1981) and Turkish

Turkish society. Many attended Turkish universities, and worked alongside Turks in their professional lives. They were heavily involved in trade, with many owning shops and factories, frequented by Turks as well as non-Muslims. Most Istanbul Greeks were bilingual, although the vast majority had Greek as their mother tongue.

The degree of interference from the Turkish state in their communal affairs varied over time, but they never enjoyed full autonomy or equality.[6] Indeed, the Istanbul Greeks fell victim to both institutional and popular persecution in the Turkish Republic, particularly when diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey were tense. Four particularly infamous events feature heavily in Istanbul Greek memory. In 1941, Turkey

6 A. Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek Turkish Relations 1918–1974* (Athens 1983) 250, 297; A. Alexandris, 'Religion or ethnicity: the identity issue of the minorities in Greece and Turkey', in R. Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: an Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey* (Oxford 2008) 118–21; B. Oran, 'The story of those who stayed: lessons from articles 1 and 2 of the 1923 convention', in Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean*, 99–108; U. Özkirimli and S. Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (London 2008) 165.

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conscripted non-Muslims aged 18 to 45 into labour battalions to carry out work in Anatolia, reportedly in unpleasant and dangerous conditions – this action was dubbed the *είκοσι ηλικίες* by the minority. From 1942 to 1944, the minority was subjected to the *varlık* (wealth) tax, which disproportionately targeted non-Muslims with harsh and sometimes unpayable duties, and resulted in the deportation of non-payers to forced labour camps. On the night of the 6th and early morning of the 7th of September 1955, the non-Muslims of Istanbul were hit by a notorious pogrom – *τα Σεπτεμβριανά* or 'events of September'. Ostensibly in retaliation for the detonation of a bomb at the purported birthplace of Mustafa Kemal in Thessaloniki, a mob attacked non-Muslim shops and homes in Istanbul, causing widespread damage and injury, even deaths.[7] In 1964, after the death of several Turkish-Cypriots, Turkey expelled all of those with Greek citizenship from Istanbul. This resulted in many Turkish citizens leaving as well, as they had intermarried with Greek citizens. In addition to official harassment, the Istanbul Greeks were frequently subject to discrimination from sections of the Muslim Turkish population, which manifested itself in anti-minority graffiti, persecution in the streets, threats to personal security, and other incidents besides. This climate is encapsulated in the popular slogan, 'Compatriot, speak Turkish!' – often used to challenge Greek-speakers in the streets.[8] The minority population of Istanbul accordingly dwindled, from 110,000 in 1922 to about 2,500 year-round residents by the turn of the century.

Most of these migrants settled in Greece. Migration represented both an end to harassment and a traumatic uprooting, and accordingly is recounted in different ways by different individuals. The migration is sometimes narrated as an escape to a motherland. Indeed, the Istanbul Greeks had moved from a country where it was sometimes dangerous to speak Greek in the streets to one where Greek was ubiquitous, and from a country where they were a religious minority to one that was overwhelmingly Orthodox Christian. Sometimes, however, the Istanbul Greeks express profound disappointment with the reception they received in the Greek motherland. Chief amongst their complaints is the issue of citizenship. The Greek state is notoriously reluctant to grant citizenship to foreign-born people.[9] Amongst foreign-born migrants, a distinction is normally made between *omogeneis* – those of Greek descent – and *allogeneis* – of non-Greek descent, the latter category being particularly unlikely to be awarded citizenship. *Omogeneis* implies blood descent, although this is often equated with possessing Greek 'national consciousness' – i.e. culture and religion. Although the Istanbul Greeks would seem to fall into this category – especially in the context of irredentist nationalistic rhetoric that made them 'unredeemed Greeks' – in practice, for years, most were unable to obtain Greek citizenship. The most plausible explanation for this impasse lies in the

7 Alexandris, 'Religion or ethnicity', 118–19; Oran, 'Story of those who stayed', 102–3.

8 Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul*, 280–6; Oran, 'Story of those who stayed', 101–4; I. Örs, 'Beyond the Greek and Turkish dichotomy: the Rum Polites of Istanbul and Athens', *South European Society and Politics* 11:1 (2006) 82–3.

9 R. Hirschon, 'Identity and the Greek state: some conceptual issues and paradoxes', in R. Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century* (London 1999) 169.

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Greek government's unwillingness to lose the Greek minority, and thus its vested interest, in Turkey.[10]

Meanwhile, the migrants operated in Greece on residence and work permits, which had to be periodically renewed. Operating without citizenship brought a variety of practical problems to the migrants – for instance in purchasing property, voting, or serving in public capacities – but perhaps the most serious effect was the psychological one. Many Istanbul Greeks express profound sentiments of rejection when they recall queuing for their permits at the Aliens' Bureau (*Τμήμα Αλλοδαπών*) alongside the *allogeneis*. Those who had left Turkey without completing their military service were often unwilling to make return visits to Istanbul without Greek passports, fearing they might be detained to undergo unpaid national service. Some lost their Turkish citizenship (either at their own request or on the initiative of the Turkish authorities when they failed to report for military service) and became stateless persons. Ultimately, largely due to pressure from Istanbul Greek community organizations, most who wanted to obtain Greek citizenship were able to do so, especially from the early 1980s onwards.

Despite being of the same religion and speaking the same language as the mainland Greeks, the migrants were distinguishable by their accent and sometimes customs, and many also faced popular suspicion due to their Turkish birthplace. Many informants reported that sections of the mainland Greek population referred to them as Turks. One Istanbul Greek shopkeeper remembered that people would direct customers to his shop by sending them to 'the Turk', whilst another migrant recalled that as a schoolgirl she got into a fight with a classmate who called her 'little Turkish girl'. Migrants recalled that their status as *omogeneis* came into question. 'Did you have churches?' 'Did you learn Greek?' 'Were you baptized?' Sometimes, the migrants' birthplace was betrayed in the most unusual ways; one of my informants related how a bank worker noticed that his signature, designed when he was eighteen and still living in Turkey, was written in Turkish.

Whilst Greece thus represented for some Istanbul Greeks an escape from persecution – a 'paradise' in the words of one informant – others would empathize with the following statement from a migrant to the Greek city of Thessaloniki: 'in Istanbul we were the Greeks, and in Thessaloniki we are the Turks.'

The Helleno-Romaic dilemma

Identity has long been recognized as a malleable and contextually contingent process,[11] and Greek identity, despite a veneer of simplicity, is notoriously ambiguous, plural, and

10 D. Christopoulos, 'Country report: Greece', *EUDO Citizenship Observatory* (Florence 2009) 1–16.

11 F. Barth, 'Introduction', in F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference* (Long Grove, IL 1998 [1969]) 9–38; T. H. Eriksen, 'We and us: two modes of group identification', *Journal of Peace Research* 32:4 (1995) 427–36; S. Hall, 'Introduction: who needs "identity"?', in S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London 2003) 1–17.

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contested.[12] Philhellene scholar and adventurer Patrick Leigh Fermor states that 'inside every Greek dwell two figures in opposition' – the Hellene and the *Romiós* – which 'contradict and complete each other'.[13] He outlines sixty-four parallel characteristics that distinguish the Hellenic figure from the Romaic. The *Romiós* is concrete, whilst the Hellene is abstract; the former worships the Byzantine Empire and the dome of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, whilst the latter adores ancient Greece and the Parthenon; they share the practice of 'settling the world's problems over endless cups of Turkish coffee'.[14] Fermor's tongue-in-cheek account is a helpful point of departure: it is precisely by manipulating the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy – by altering the emphasis given to Hellenism's two oppositional figures – that the Istanbul Greeks respond to their ambiguous reception in their motherland and construct a contextually useful sense of self in migration.

The terms 'Hellene' and *Romiós*, sometimes interchangeable, sometimes oppositional, have experienced radically fluctuating fortunes through the ages.[15] During the Byzantine period, the Greeks came to be known as *Romioí* – i.e. as the inheritors of the Roman Empire – a label which become closely associated with Orthodox Christianity. The term 'Hellene', meanwhile, was often equated with paganism and ancient Greece, although it did not disappear from contemporary usage altogether.[16] The Ottoman Empire took up this terminology, classifying its Orthodox Christian subjects as *Rum*, as would the Turkish Republic after 1923. The dilemma came to the fore in the build-up to the Greek revolution, as Enlightenment-inspired Greek intellectuals began to identify with Western narratives of Classical Greek glory and see themselves as Hellenes.[17] The mainland peasantry who would fight the revolution, however, identified themselves as *Romioí*, that is as Orthodox Christians, and fought less for the glory of Pericles than for freedom from their Muslim overlords.[18] As Michael Herzfeld has

12 R. Just, 'Triumph of the ethnos', in E. Tonkin, M. McDonald and M. Chapman (eds), *History and Ethnicity* (London and New York 1989) 71–88; P. Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford 2009) 8–10; D. Theodossopoulos, 'Introduction: the "Turks" in the imagination of the "Greeks"', *South European Society and Politics* 11:1 (2006) 2–3, 18.

13 Fermor, *Roumeli*, 106.

14 Ibid., 107–13.

15 The Istanbul Greeks use two Greek words to refer to Greeks – *Éllinas/Ellinída/Éllines* and *Romiós/Romiá/Romioí*. I translate *Éllinas/Ellinída/Éllines* as 'Hellene(s)' and preserve *Romiós/Romiá/Romioí* in the original Greek, because no appropriate translation exists. I am interested in the uses to which the Istanbul Greeks put these terms, and so remain faithful to the original terminological choices of my informants. I reserve the word 'Greek' for when it is not profitable to distinguish between *Éllines* and *Romioí*. I do not intend to imply any strict definitional distinction between the two terms, nor do I consider them to refer to discrete ethnic identities, but rather am interested in how they are used variably as signifiers. My informants sometimes treat the two as synonymous, sometimes as overlapping or one as a part of the other, and sometimes as antithetical.

16 M. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York 1986) 6; W. Heurtley, H. Darby, C. Crawley and C. Woodhouse, *A Short History of Greece: From Early Times to 1964* (Cambridge 1967) 36; Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, 48–9.

17 Just, 'Triumph of the ethnos', 83.

18 Ibid., 83; Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 31; Özkirimli and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 25.

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discussed, Greek nation-building thus involved two competing visions of Greece and Greek identity: the Hellenic thesis and the Romaic thesis. The Hellenic thesis was 'an outward-directed conformity to international expectations' and evoked 'ancient pagan glories', whilst the Romaic thesis was 'an inward-looking self-critical collective appraisal' that identified with a more recent past.[19] If the Hellenic was the ideal orientated towards modern Europe, the Romaic represented the familiar, simultaneously the comfort of Orthodox Christianity and the stigma of oriental taint.[20] Ultimately, it was the Hellenic thesis that became dominant, and the modern Greeks, in Peter Mackridge's words, 'were born again as Hellenes, having realized, as it seemed to them, who they were.'[21] Although all Greeks thus became Hellenes in the eyes of the Greek state, Romaic identity persisted on local and informal levels amongst both the mainland Greeks, even to an extent into the present day, and amongst the 'unredeemed' Greeks, who were still officially called *Rum*. Whilst living in Turkey, the Istanbul Greeks often used the term *Romioí* to distinguish themselves from the Hellenes of the Greek mainland; sometimes, more specifically, the *Romioí* were those Istanbul Greeks with Turkish citizenship and the Hellenes those with Greek citizenship (mirroring the official Turkish distinction between *Rum* and *Yunan*).

The Helleno-Romaic dichotomy has thus for centuries governed the boundaries of what it means to be Greek, acting as a metaphor for the enactment of changing Greek identity. This article considers how the Istanbul Greeks manipulate the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy to negotiate their Greek identity, at times pursuing cultural assimilation, at times distinction, whilst all the while remaining safely within Greek cultural territory.

Manipulating the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy

In my life-history interviews, those Istanbul Greeks whose accounts constructed Greece as an escape from persecution preferred to stress their Hellenic selves, and were at pains to annihilate any distinction between Hellenes and *Romioí*. Gerasimos – who left Istanbul at the age of fifteen when his father, a Greek citizen, was expelled in 1964 – persistently referred to the Istanbul Greeks as Hellenes throughout his life-history narrative; when I specifically asked how he conceived of his identity, he replied 'Hellene, without any qualification'. This self-designation mirrors and provides credence to his broader life history. As he described it, he was persecuted in Istanbul because he was a Hellene, and then welcomed in Greece as a Hellene – migration represented an escape to a motherland. The fact that his father was a Greek citizen – and therefore perhaps referred to as Hellenic rather than Romaic whilst in Istanbul – may also be a contributory factor. Gerasimos made no attempt to access the Romaic side of the dichotomy, and described *Romiós* as purely a broader term for Hellenic: the two oppositional figures

19 Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 20–3.

20 Ibid.; Özkirimli and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 21–3.

21 Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 23; Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, 55.

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become purely synonymous. Thekla, born in 1950 to Cappadocian parents and a migrant in the late 1970s, similarly described herself as: 'a Hellene of Cappadocia ... but I never hesitate to say I'm a Hellene. In my life I have never thought of my identity as anything but Hellenic.' Whilst she may occasionally refer to herself as a '*Romiá* of Istanbul', she was disparaging of those Istanbul Greeks who say, 'I'm not a Hellene, I'm a *Romiós*', using the Romaic identity to 'cut the Hellenism of Istanbul from its roots'. Thekla avoids the word *Romiá* as it carries an implication that she and her community are somehow separate from Greece and the roots of Hellenism.

Dimitris Theodossopoulos explains that the inherent flexibility of the Greek identity undermines claims to fixity and continuity, opening up the potential for its permeability.[22] It is precisely this permeability that these informants are resisting in their insistence upon a Hellenic identity; distinctions like *Romiós* are avoided as they imply ambiguity, disunity, intra-communal distinction, and, perhaps worst of all, the possibility of Oriental permeation.[23] As Michael Herzfeld observes, 'in statist ideologies, diversity is a threat, because it signifies change and especially fragmentation'.[24] In the context of a life-history interview, in attempting to ensure that the Istanbul Greeks are not fragmented from the Greek body as their mainland Greek detractors would have it, these informants stress a Hellenic identity to indicate that Greeks are indistinguishable across the Aegean. In the migratory context, Hellenic identity thus establishes inclusion in the Greek nation-state and cultural similarity with the mainland Greeks.

Those migrants, however, who felt disappointed or even rejected in Greece, whose life histories stressed cultural differences between the mainland Greeks and the Istanbul Greeks, preferred to present a Romaic self in their life histories. Vangelis – born in the 1930s and not a migrant until 1980 – was exceptionally disillusioned with life in Greece. He regretted his decision to leave Istanbul, and wished he was young enough to return. He complained that the mainland Greeks 'didn't want me, they teased me,' and dismissed Greece as a 'degenerate, barbaric land.' This led him to reject Hellenic identity, and retreat entirely into a Romaic self-definition. He said to me:

> You want to know how [the] Hellenes lived [in Istanbul]. Not Hellenes – *Romioí*, right? There are no Hellenes in Istanbul – they[25] baptized us as Hellenes, we don't have any connection with them.

In Vangelis' reckoning, the Hellenes were the ancient Greeks, and they 'finished two thousand years ago'. The true Istanbul Greek identity was as the Roman of the Byzantine Empire, and then as the Orthodox Christian of the Ottoman Empire: 'I adore Byzantium. That which is called Byzantium ... If you read and you know the books, they speak of the Eastern Roman Empire and that is how it is. I am a Roman.

22 Theodossopoulos, '"Turks" in the imagination of the "Greeks"', 18.

23 See M. Herzfeld, *Anthropology Through the Looking-glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge 1987) 41–2.

24 Ibid., 29.

25 Proponents of the Hellenic thesis, presumably.

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Rum is correct. I'm not Greek, I'm a *Romiós*, I'm a *Romiós*, Roman.'[26] Vangelis' disillusionment with his life in Greece is so strong that he wishes to disconnect himself entirely from Hellenism, which he sees as a corruption of true Romaic identity. Just as some Istanbul Greeks take the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy to one extreme by denying the Romaic element, so Vangelis goes to the other extreme, rejecting Hellenic identity and withdrawing into a Byzantine *Romiós* self-perception.

In the above examples, my informants stressed one identity over another in order to convey a particular message within the context of a life history; given a momentary opportunity in which to portray their sense of self, community and history to an outsider, these informants stressed either Hellenic sameness or Romaic distinctiveness, and maintained this self consistently throughout their narrative. Generally, however, the utility of the Helleno-Romaic identity for the Istanbul Greeks lies in its ambiguity and flexibility. This was most clear when I specifically asked informants to define themselves: the majority preferred to situate their identity somewhere between the two oppositional figures of the Greek. Stefanos was born in 1950, and migrated as a young man in 1964. When I asked him to define himself he captured the utility of being simultaneously Hellenic and Romaic:

> Ethnicity: clearly Hellenic. For accuracy, we also have to separate the *Romiós*. The *Romiós* of Istanbul was a Hellene but he was something separate. He didn't think of his identity as Hellene with the meaning of Greece ... the *Romiós* of Istanbul was something beyond Greece.

When challenged to define his identity, Stefanos was keen to separate himself from strict association with Greece. To be a *Romiós* in his formulation is still to be ethnically Greek, but to be a different kind of Greek from a mainland Greek: a more localized Greek identity within the wider category of Greek. Where exactly this identity is located geographically and historically was clearly articulated by Stefanos' sister, Tasoula, in a separate interview:

> *Halstead:* How would you describe your ethnicity?
>
> *Tasoula:* [long pause]. Hellene.
>
> *Halstead:* Not *Romiá*?
>
> *Tasoula:* What does *Romiá* mean? Hellene, it means. Except it distinguishes that you are the community from Byzantium, from Istanbul. For that reason I am proud that I am a Constantinopolitan – because I am not a simple Hellene.

To be *Romiós* means to be more than 'a simple Hellene', to be something different from the Greeks who inhabit the modern nation-state. Byzantium – though important to

26 Vangelis' explict use of the word Roman (*Romaíos*) in addition to *Romiós* is relatively uncommon. Whether he uses this word for historical/etymological exactitude, or because it further stresses his estrangement from Hellenic identity, is debatable.

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Greek national imagining – is subordinated to the ancient Greek golden age, as the former carries unwelcome associations with the Turks and is no longer in Greek hands.[27] Byzantium has even less place in Turkish nationalism, being dismissed as an uncivilized period tainted by Greeks and brought to an end by the Ottoman invasion.[28] The legacy of Byzantium is thus ripe for appropriation. It is sidelined by both the Greek and Turkish nation-states, and therefore permits the Istanbul Greeks simultaneously to distinguish themselves from mainland Greeks and Muslim Turks. Yet it remains one of the greatest ever seats of Hellenic power and culture, and is right on the (former) doorstep of the Istanbul Greeks. Moreover, it is considered to be the period when pagan Hellenism merged with Orthodox Christianity, a cornerstone of modern Greek identity. Byzantium is thus an ideal past with which to imagine Istanbul Greek identity: one that can share in Hellenism, whilst challenging the centrality of ancient Greece, and positing Byzantium (and therefore Istanbul) as the true homeland of Hellenism and Orthodox Christianity. As a big city, and seat of a vast, cosmopolitan empire, it is also taken to embody all the cultural traits which distinguish the Istanbul Greeks from the mainland Greeks. It provides the migrants with a past and an identity that is Greek but distinct from Greece; at once Greek, and something more than simply Hellenic. In this resolution to the Helleno-Romaic dilemma, Hellenic ethnicity is not abandoned – thus preserving access to a broader Greek community – but the *Romiós* is also allowed to emerge, creating space for a more specialized version of Greek identity.

This specialized Greek identity helps the Istanbul Greeks to adapt to the difficult and changing contexts associated with their migration. On the one hand, when trying to establish belonging and inclusion in the mainland Greek community, such as when their Hellenic credentials are under attack, the migrants access the Hellenic component of their identity. Fotini – who migrated to Greece with young Istanbul-born children – reported that her son was mocked as 'seed of the Turks' by his classmates in Greece. Fotini went to the teacher to complain about this behaviour, explaining to her 'look, we are more Hellenic than the Hellenes here!' In the context of defending her son against accusations of being a Turk, Fotini's identity is not just Hellenic, but, as a Byzantine, in fact more Hellenic than the mainland Greeks. In such situations, the Istanbul Greeks dismiss and downplay the Romaic aspect to their identity by stressing Hellenic sameness.

27 Herzfeld, *Anthropology Through the Looking-glass*, 20–1. This sidelining of Byzantium requires a little unpacking. As Mackridge notes, we should distinguish between two conceptions of the Eastern Roman Empire: Byzantium as *Christianity* and Byzantium as *Empire* (P. Mackridge, 'The heritages of the Modern Greeks', *British Academy Review* (2012) 38). As Özkirimli and Sofos put it (*Tormented by History*, 100–1), Byzantium as Empire 'disrupt[ed] the coherence of the [Greek] nationalist imagination and had to be erased.' Because complete erasure was impossible, Greek nation-builders compromised by accommodating Byzantium as Christianity. Whilst Byzantium in Greek historiography is thus confined to the religious, the Istanbul Greeks, in imagining a cosmopolitan golden era, also evoke the sidelined Byzantium as Empire.

28 H. Millas, '"Greeks" in Turkish textbooks – the way for an integrationary approach', paper presented at the conference 'History Education and Textbooks', Boğaziçi University, Istanbul 8–10 June 1995.

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When, however, the migrants wish to distinguish themselves from the mainland Greeks, they access this Romaic figure. Anthropologist Renée Hirschon, who conducted fieldwork with Asia Minor Greek refugees in Athens, noticed that the refugees responded to xenophobia from the mainland Greek population by stressing their own cosmopolitan, multicultural background in Turkey. This 'knowledge of diversity', as Hirschon terms it, stemming from their cosmopolitan experience of co-existence with Turks and other minorities in the Ottoman Empire, provided them with a sense of identity that distinguished them from their monocultural mainland Greek detractors.[29] As anthropologist Ilay Romain Örs has observed, the Istanbul Greek migrants exhibit similar responses, using their 'knowledge of diversity' from cosmopolitan Istanbul to differentiate themselves from their new countrymen.[30]

Indeed, moments after she claimed to be more Hellenic than the Hellenes, I asked Fotini how she would define herself. She replied:

> *Romiá*. [Pause.] Not Hellenic, *Romiá*. There's a difference ... We had many influences, because Istanbul is a cosmopolitan place. It wasn't a village, we didn't have animals ... that's why we call it The City, with a big 'C' ... Byzantium.

In the space of just a few minutes, Fotini's identity has changed from more Hellenic than the Hellenes, to not Hellenic but Romaic. In this manner, the Helleno-Romaic duality has allowed her to deal with the challenges of migration, by first *including* herself in a pan-Greek community (when on the defensive about her identity and legitimacy in Greece), and then *distinguishing* herself as a special branch of cosmopolitan Byzantine Greek (when she wants to differentiate herself from the local monocultural Greek villagers). In the nation-building context of Herzfeld's work, the Hellenic thesis is the outward and Western-facing portrayal of self and the Romaic the inward-looking familiar identity. In this context, a slightly different dynamic is at work. Fotini's Hellenic self emerges when she remembers portraying herself to the mainland Greeks; Romaic identity, meanwhile, emerges specifically in the context of portraying oneself to an outside ethnographer.

Örs argues that the Istanbul Greeks transcend the Greek-Turkish dichotomy, by rooting their sense of belonging not in Greek or Turkish ethnicity, but in a 'wider cultural sense of "belonging" ... specifically centred on the urban cosmopolitan experience of being from Istanbul.'[31] As she correctly identifies, this identity can sometimes be used to distinguish the Istanbul Greeks from the mainland Greeks, in certain contexts even

29 R. Hirschon, 'Knowledge of diversity: towards a more differentiated set of "Greek" perceptions of "Turks"', *South European Society and Politics* 11:1 (2006) 61–78; R. Hirschon, '"We got on well with the Turks": Christian-Muslim relations in Late Ottoman times', in D. Shankland (ed.), *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck 1878-1920* (Istanbul 2004) 325–43.

30 Örs, 'Beyond the Greek and Turkish dichotomy', 79–94.

31 Ibid., 81–90.

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excluding mainland Greeks at the expense of including non-Greek Istanbulites.[32] However, central to the utility of this identity for the Istanbul Greeks is that in other contexts they can *include* mainland Greeks in their wider sense of a Greek identity whilst *excluding* others, such as non-Greek Istanbulites. The heirs to Byzantium can be as Greek as necessary, or as distinct as necessary, manipulating the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy to suit social situations.

The complicated issue of citizenship – outlined above – provides another, more tangible opportunity to think through this identity. Whilst many informants' decisions concerning citizenship were pragmatic – relating to rights or economic considerations in the two countries – for others there was an ideological dimension to the acquisition or disposal of different citizenships. For Ioanna, who as a young child had traumatic personal experiences of the 1955 pogrom, renouncing her Turkish citizenship was a symbolic act. She personally made the application, 'because [we wanted to] erase everything that was Turkish ... we didn't want to have links.' Ioanna thus attempted to exorcize the painful Turkish element in her history, and distinguish her identity categorically from her Turkish tormentors. Conversely, Vangelis has responded to his disillusionment in Greece by taking back his Turkish citizenship, a symbolic rejection of Hellenic identity and a mark of nostalgia for Istanbul. As he explained: 'ten years ago ... [when I learned] what the Hellenic reality was, I said, "I'll take back the Turkish citizenship!"'

Meanwhile, for others, citizenship dealings help them to think through the dichotomy between the Hellenic and the Romaic figures. At the Constantinopolitan Association of Northern Greece – a community organization in Thessaloniki – I overheard a conversation between two men, one of whom had recently decided to re-acquire his Turkish citizenship, a fact that the other man was struggling to comprehend. As I arrived *in medias res*, the other man left, leaving Panagiotis to explain himself to me:

> When I say I want to take back the Turkish citizenship, I want to take it as a *Romiós*. When I say this to Hellenes [i.e. mainland Greeks] they look at me suspiciously; they think, 'ah, he wants to take it to be a Turkish citizen again'. No. I want to do so to be a free citizen, a free *Romiós*, in my city. *Romiós*, right?

I met Panagiotis a few days later in his house. In the intervening period, he had learnt from the Turkish embassy that his application, first made in 1993, had been accepted in 2002, and they were waiting only to hear whether or not he was still alive (!). Panagiotis therefore intended to collect his Turkish citizenship the following day. He elaborated on his decision:

> Some people ask, 'why do you want to be a Turkish subject?' I say, 'no, I'm not doing it in that way. I'm taking it [because] I am a free citizen.' Greece, that is my country, but I have another country ... I have two homelands. I want to have one citizenship there and one here.

32 Ibid., 86–8.

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A resident of Greece since 1963, Panagiotis considers Thessaloniki to be his home, and does not reject the Hellenic aspect of his identity. Nonetheless, he expresses a profound and regretful nostalgia for Istanbul, stating that, 'for all those years [that I have been in Greece] my heart is in Istanbul'. Panagiotis uses his official identity to establish a flexible sense of self. When in Greece, he has Greek citizenship, and is Hellenic: indeed, he called himself 'very Hellenic' as compared to other Greek diaspora communities. When he next goes to Istanbul, however, on his Turkish citizenship and leaving his Greek passport behind, he will be a *Romiós* and therefore become a free citizen in his own country: a native not a foreigner, a *Rum* not a *Yunan*. Panagiotis referred to himself as 'twice a refugee: once when I left from there to come here, and once now that I want to go back there from here.' His possession of dual citizenship symbolizes and legitimates his ownership of two homelands, and his metaphorical switching of identity as he travels between them – in this he finds some relief from his feeling of being twice a refugee.

Dimitris – from Chalki, one of the Princes' Islands – expressed a similar feeling about citizenship:

> Every time I go to Turkey, and I go almost once a year, I go as a tourist, with a Greek passport. I might not think of myself as a Turk, but ... I love my island ... That's why I want the Turkish passport again.

Once Dimitris re-possesses Turkish citizenship, he will travel to Istanbul on a Turkish passport, leaving his Greek one behind, a symbolic act establishing his legitimate presence in Turkey as a native not a tourist.

Hirschon notes that personal identity is separate from state identity, and that due to its legal status the latter 'cannot easily be negotiated.'[33] Nevertheless, for some, 'thinking with citizenship' allows them to reconcile their past and present, find expression for their frustrations, regrets, and hopes, and actually inject further flexibility into their identity.

Economic crisis and Istanbul Greek identity

When I started my fieldwork in November 2011, the European sovereign debt crisis was in full swing. Greece's massive government debt and ailing economy were at the centre of this maelstrom, as austerity measures – preconditions for EU bailout deals – were implemented. The consequences for the Greek people – rising unemployment (especially amongst the young), disappearing pensions, forced early retirements, salary cuts for public employees, cuts to public services – were (and remain) severe. The Western response was largely played out through an established narrative that wonders how the ancestors of European civilization can have become, in Herzfeld's words, the 'West's poorly socialized and wayward offspring'.[34] As David Holden put it, Greece is

33 Hirschon, 'Identity and the Greek state', 163.

34 Herzfeld, *Anthropology Through the Looking-glass*, 19–21. Herzfeld was not writing in the specific context of economic crisis, and was observing, not subscribing to, this narrative.

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socio-economically underdeveloped yet historically overdeveloped, and therefore unable 'to treat herself, or to be treated by others, on her present merits'.[35] Operating under an imagined Western legacy of former greatness has only increased the stigma of Greece's current financial plight in European discourse. This stigma provides another opportunity to explore the practical utility of Istanbul Greek identity.

An important component of the Istanbul Greeks' sense of cultural distinctiveness, especially amongst men, is the notion of superiority in terms of workmanship. Petros – who migrated in 1964, but not before learning a trade in Istanbul – argued that the Istanbul Greeks were distinguishable in Greece by the quality of their workmanship:

> In Istanbul, we learnt to work for the job. Here, in Greece, there is still that absurdity that the worker considers his boss to be drinking his blood. That is wrong: we don't look to sabotage our work, we look to do our work. In certain jobs [in Greece] there were some who were lazy ... When I worked [in Greece] ... as a turner, I turned out fifty pieces per day. The others turned out twenty. So, they came [to me], and made a fuss, 'hey, stop working so hard, calm down a bit' ... That's why this country has arrived in this poor state – it's not just one or two, it's lots. Lots and lots. Unfortunately.

Petros thus linked Greece's economic decline to the laziness of her workers, a stigma from which he, as a hard-working Istanbul Greek, exempts himself. Spyros – who was thirty-four years old when he migrated in 1964 – likewise connected the mainland Greeks' work ethos with their economic plight. Betraying a right-of-centre approach, he criticized union power and popular uprisings, extolling the virtues of the strong arm of the law and individualistic hard work:

> Here in Greece, if you say, 'I'll tell you something', [the mainland Greek says] 'I know, I know'. And the children. 'I know, I know'. That's how we withered away. 'I know, I know, I know.' Here they don't listen much. They're know-alls. That's bad. They had a different culture here [in Greece] ... They had unions. You clock off at five. We didn't have unions. Work finished at six, at seven, at eight. Work, the client first. I live from the customer. What I am going to do if I leave work an hour early, go to the cafe? ... Here he [the boss] sucks my blood. I've heard it, and I say, 'are your bosses vampires?' My boss drinks my blood, because instead of working until eight I work until eight-thirty? ... Greece has been spoiled by the unions, you see what's happening now.

In this lament, Spyros creates causal links between the mainland Greeks' alleged inferior workmanship, the spread of unionism and socialism, and the economic crisis. His construction of a hard-working self-image distinguishes him from these mainland Greeks who, according to Spyros, have caused the country to wither away through their left-wing rights-obsessed unionism and runaway liberties.

35 D. Holden, *Greece Without Columns: the Making of the Modern Greeks* (London 1972) 36.

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Chalki migrant Dimitris similarly voiced his disappointment with the mainland Greeks in the context of economic crisis:

Halstead: How would you describe your ethnicity?

Dimitris: On my [identity] cards: Hellenic.

Halstead: And in your mind?

Dimitris: In my spirit? [laughs] Not Hellenic. We have got to the point today, unfortunately, that we are embarrassed to say that we are Hellenes ... We grew up with Hellenic soul, Hellenic culture over there. Here of course they treated us as Turks ... [When we arrived], of course we didn't find things here as we wanted, the [mainland] Hellenes mostly disappointed us. Today, in 2011, they disappoint us even more. It doesn't cease to be a beautiful country, [but] the people are the problem, unfortunately. The people of this country.

Received as a Turk in Greece, Dimitris no longer wanted to be called Hellenic, which in turn permitted him to distance himself from the Greek economic failure. During our interview, it became apparent that his daughter – born and raised in Greece – was plotting a similar escape. With the daughter within earshot, I asked Dimitris if he thought his children felt like *Romioí*. 'No,' he replied, 'they are pure Hellenic girls, they have a Hellenic mentality ... No. They haven't got a different culture. They feel like Hellenes ...' At this point, his daughter began to cough very deliberately, and shake her head. Registering this, Dimitris continued:

Dimitris: ... regardless of the situation which has brought them to the point –

Daughter: [Interjects] That we do not want it.

Dimitris: – of no longer wanting to be called Hellenes.

Dimitris' daughter challenged his imposition of Hellenic identity upon her, and both parties felt that her rejection of Hellenic identity was a direct result of the current economic situation. In the present context, the daughter attempts to adopt her father's 'not Hellenic' identity to distinguish herself from the mainland Greeks and their crisis.

Accessing their Romaic self thus not only helps the Istanbul Greeks to negotiate an identity that can absorb the pressures of migration; for some, it also allows them to remain conveniently aloof during the current crisis. Mackridge writes that the economic crisis has precipitated an identity crisis in Greece.[36] For the Istanbul Greeks, there need be no identity crisis: if the economic crisis is Hellenic, then the Istanbul Greeks distance themselves from it by taking refuge in those aspects of their identity that make them distinct from the Hellenes.

36 Mackridge, 'The heritages of the Modern Greeks', 33.

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The unconventional self – escaping the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy

Literary scholar Daniel Albright, building on social psychologist Ulric Neisser's concept of the 'remembered self' – that is the sense of self created when a past event is remembered in a specific present context – distinguishes between a 'conventional remembered self' and an 'unconventional remembered self'. Whilst 'the conventional vision of self offers me security; the unconventional one frightens me and frees me.'[37] The Istanbul Greeks' Helleno-Romaic self is their conventional self – its changing nature provides them with a sense of security and belonging in different contexts whilst remaining within the safe, conventional space of Greek identity. At other times, however, my informants had recourse to access their unconventional selves – to escape temporarily the conventional self and take on a more radical self with more subversive meanings.

Every morning, students in Turkish schools – including minority schools – recited[38] the student oath as follows:

> I'm a Turk, I'm righteous, I'm hard working,
> My principle is to protect my minors, is to respect my elders,
> Is to love my country and my nation much more than my own self ...
> Happy is the one who calls himself a Turk.[39]

My informants recalled this oath, and many were still able to recite it by heart; yet few if any would label themselves 'Turk', which in Greece is largely synonymous with 'Muslim' and would be a dangerous violation of the conventional self.[40] Nevertheless, the potential utility of professing an unconventional Turkish element to identity in very specific contexts is not totally lost to Istanbul Greeks.

Contextually adopting Turkish identity is usually done in a humorous way. When I was discussing ethnicity and identity with Kyriakos – who migrated as a young man – he explained that, despite his love for Greece, he was a *Romiós*, and therefore different from a mainland Greek. His son, however, born in Greece to two Istanbul Greek parents, considers himself to be a pure Hellene. Kyriakos, chuckling, told me: 'sometimes we have very strong, intense discussions with my eldest son, who says that he is Hellenic and that [he is descended] from Pericles!' Faced with this staunch assertion of Hellenic descent, Kyriakos teases his son about a potential Turkish element to his lineage: 'I say to him, "your blood might be Turkish ... how can we know about my father['s lineage]? He could be Turkish!"' Here Kyriakos uses a potential Turkish aspect to his

37 D. Albright, 'Literary and psychological models of the self', in Ulric Neisser (ed.), *The Remembering Self: Construction and Accuracy in the Self-narrative* (Cambridge 1994) 39.

38 The student oath was abolished in late 2013.

39 H. Millas, 'The *Romioí* of Istanbul as citizens and as a minority', *Eptalofos* (December 1996); wording of the pledge is taken (abridged) from F. Meseci-Giorgetti, 'Discourse of the student's pledge in Turkey', paper presented at 'European Conference on Educational Research' (Freie Universität Berlin, 14 September 2011), http://www.eera-ecer.de/index.php?id=421&Action=showContributionDetail&conferenceUid=5&contributionUid=18778&cHash=49a57dfd676d2b14168d29a6806cffe7 [accessed 1 August 2012].

40 Hirschon, 'Identity and the Greek state', 171.

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identity – hidden Turkish blood lurking in his family genealogy – to frighten his son, who takes pride in a purely Hellenic identity.

A similar event took place over dinner at Istanbul Greek Lefteris' house. Present were Lefteris, his wife Alexandra, and a mainland Greek friend of mine from the Peloponnese, here dubbed Achilleas. Lefteris was listening to Turkish music, and Achilleas asked him, 'what language is this? Turkish? Arabic?' Lefteris responded bluntly, 'yes, Turkish.' There was a pause, before Achilleas asked Lefteris if he understood the lyrics. 'What do you think?' Lefteris responded, in a matter-of-fact tone, 'seeing as I am from Turkey.' At this point Alexandra drifted into the conversation, and, grinning and pointing to Lefteris, said to Achilleas, 'yes, he's a Turk, him! He's a Turk!' Achilleas looked a little crestfallen; 'You're joking?' he implored. 'That's what [the mainland Greeks] called us,' Alexandra retorted. Achilleas turned to me and, in English, said, 'I feel uncomfortable now!' Alexandra ascribes a Turkish identity to her husband to sarcastically mock how they were discriminated against by sections of the mainland Greek population. In certain contexts, the migrants can access this unconventional self – actually 'become' Greece's ethnic 'Other' – to tease or even frighten mainland Greeks (apparently successfully). In such contexts, the stigma some mainland Greeks attach to the Istanbul Greeks' birthplace is turned into an asset; responding to rejection, they play upon the Turkophobia by which it was triggered.[41]

Fotis, born in 1950 and a migrant in 1976, went a little further. He espoused a strongly anti-nationalistic line in his narrative, saying that he hasn't 'got any anti-Turkish feeling'; this lack of nationalistic enmity is because the Istanbul Greeks 'didn't grow up at all like Hellenes, they grew up as *Romioí*'. He then explained what it meant to be a *Romiós*:

> Let's say, a man is 100% ... [each *Romiós* has] a percentage of Turk inside him ... A Hellene hasn't got it at all. That's the difference ... I don't have any problem to say, 'I'm a Hellene, I'm a Turk.' Because I am, I have a percentage in me which is a Turk.

In stating that he is happy to call himself both Hellenic and Turkish, Fotis rails against the logic of the nation-state, which posits these two groups as mutually exclusive and antagonistic categories. Echoing Örs' observations, his percentage Turkish model symbolizes the cosmopolitan aspect of his identity which the monocultural mainland Greeks lack. Moreover, by saying that he has no problem to call himself a Turk, there is a sense of defiance against those mainland Greeks who did just that; again, Fotis calls their bluff.

Speaking to Turkish scholar Dilek Güven, an Istanbul Greek lamented the collapse of pluralism under the nation-state as follows: 'in reality I am neither *Romiós* nor Turk, I am an Ottoman, but they did not leave us a piece of land where we could live out this

41 Achilleas is certainly no Turkophobe; he, too, is playing a 'character' – the Greek nationalist – for humorous purposes.

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culture.'[42] Byzantium represents such a suitable imagined past for Istanbul Greeks as it was dominated by Greek-speakers; the Ottoman Empire, largely ignored by Greek historiography, is less suitable, due to Greek subjugation to Muslim rule.[43] Nonetheless, the Ottoman era shares some of the pluralistic, cosmopolitan characteristics that Istanbul Greeks sometimes seek to evoke in Byzantium, and for this reason Fotis also made an altogether bolder attempt to inherit the legacy of the Ottoman Empire. He did so through the medium of family history:

> My mother's side were Ottomans, with fez and things. An Ottoman may be a Jew and speak Arabic but it's not an issue for him. Because he is an Ottoman ... [When the Greek cruiser] Averof arrived [in Istanbul after the end of the First World War] it passed through the Bosporus, all the Hellenes came out, with flags, all the *Romioí* of Istanbul ... [His Ottoman grandfather] closed the windows, he didn't want to see such a thing, because he had an Ottoman identity. The other grandfather [on the father's side], exactly the opposite, he put Greek flags in his shop, a photo of [Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios] Venizelos, crazy stuff. I have the culture of both.

In this story, whilst one of Fotis' grandfathers enthusiastically welcomes the Greek ships as liberators, the Ottoman grandfather is repelled by the show of national allegiance. Fotis further deployed this Ottoman identity when depicting intercommunal harmony in Istanbul:

> That came from the Ottoman Empire, that co-existence, for one person to be next to another and have his freedom. Without anyone submitting to anyone else, neither the *Romiós* to the Armenian, nor the Turk to the Jew, in the Ottoman Empire it was something very common.

He lamented the death of this Ottoman tolerance in the modern world:

> The nation state, when Turkey was made in 1923, it didn't want it. They wanted everyone to become a Turk, like Greece everyone to become Hellenes ... The nation states have one culture, one language, one flag, one, one, one. The Ottoman Empire was exactly the opposite, many countries, many languages, many people, many, many, many.

Fotis uses genealogy to lay claim to both Ottoman and Hellenic inherited identity, the former (unconventional) associated with a pre-nationalistic multicultural tolerance and giving him an escape route from Greek nationalism, the latter (conventional) preserving his access to the security of Greek identity. As an Ottoman Hellene, Fotis is permitted to be both multicultural and anti-nationalistic, and proud to have Greek origins.

42 D. Güven, 'Το «βαθύ» κράτος, τα Σεπτεμβριανά και η δημοκρατία στην σύγχρονη Τουρκία', *Proceedings of the International Conference: 6-7/9/1955 An Act of Annihilation of the Greek Community of Istanbul* (Athens 2008) 14.

43 Özkirimli and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 100.

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My informants thus were able to make radical contextual alterations to their sense of self, but did so in temporary and cautious ways, usually in humorous contexts. This unconventional self frees us just as it frightens us (and others), but its deployment is temporary: ultimately we retreat to the security of the conventional self as it allows for safer and more subtle manipulations of identity.

Conclusions

Homi Bhabha argues that identity's inherent 'ambivalence' can be 'strategically ... socially deployed'.[44] Indeed, in dealing with their forced migration, the inherent ambivalence in Greek identity is productive for the Istanbul Greeks; manipulation of the Helleno-Romaic dichotomy permits significant and, if necessary, rapid changes to self-presentation within a safely bounded cultural context. It allows Fotini to be distinct from mainland Greeks in one context, and assimilated in another. It permits both Panagiotis and Dimitris to preserve access to two homelands: to be Hellenic when in Greece, and Romaic when in Turkey. The ongoing utility of this ambivalence is shown in the responses of some Istanbul Greeks to the current financial crisis. It helps Spyros, Petros, and Dimitris to escape the stigma of their host country's economic failure, whilst remaining a part of the Greek community. Arguing for the gradual and grounded evolution of collective memories, Barry Schwartz states that '[i]n a crisis, people depend on symbolic forms to reinforce old conceptions and learn new ones'.[45] Indeed, in the economic crisis, some migrants mobilize stereotypes about mainland Greeks, developed in response to the pressures of migration, to both reinforce their stereotypes and distance themselves from current negativity towards aspects of the Greek character. In dealing with a variety of changing contexts, it suits the migrants to be Greek, but something more than simply Hellenic.

Nevertheless, in certain contexts my informants left the safety of the Helleno-Romaic duality and accessed more unconventional components of their identity. These forays, however, were generally partial and temporary. Theodossopoulos explains that 'categories are challenged only, or as much as is required, to allow new sets of meaning to dwell in their available hollowness'.[46] Identity categories are revised only as much as is necessary to expose their ambiguity, and colonize the empty space with new yet interrelated meanings. Lefteris and Kyriakos revise their conventional identity categories through their jocular adoption of Turkish identity, taking advantage of mainland Greek assumptions about identity to temporarily 'become Turks' and challenge these very assumptions. Similarly, Fotis revises and combines the categories of Greek and Ottoman – taking advantage of their ambiguous hollowness and partially

44 H. Bhabha interviewed by P. Thompson, 'Between identities', in R. Benmayor and A. Skotnes (eds), *Migration and Identity* (New Brunswick and London 2005) 192.

45 B. Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago and London 2000) 24–5.

46 Theodossopoulos, '"Turks" in the imagination of the "Greeks"', 23.

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overlapping history – no further than necessary to foster a new meaning: a multicultural version of Hellenic identity that reconciles his pre- and post-migration life and responds to his identity denial on both sides of the Aegean.

These unconventional selves, however, are deployed infrequently, and the Istanbul Greeks are able to adapt to most social contexts through more subtle adjustments to their conventional self. As Thomas Hyland Eriksen argues, identity cannot be created 'out of thin air' – for an individual to identify with a certain self, it must be closely rooted in their everyday experience.[47] The psychologist Craig Barclay concurs, stressing the gradual and anchored evolution of collective identities 'such that what is created anew is referenced and firmly tied to the past'; identifications are 'constrained by a life lived and a life being lived and by evolving social agreements regarding the range of culturally acceptable selves'.[48] As the Istanbul Greeks' unconventional selves run contrary to much of their life experiences and cultural settings, they are accessed cautiously – humorously, in private, or at a safe distance in the genealogical past. By oscillating between the more conventional Hellenic and Romaic figures, the Istanbul Greeks stretch the ambiguous spaces in Greek identity to face diverse social pressures – migration, discrimination, alienation, financial crisis – negotiating a different kind of Greek identity without straying from culturally acceptable territory. The heirs to Byzantium are Hellenic enough to belong to modern Greece yet Romaic enough to be distinct within that country; Greek, but more than simply Hellenic.

47 Eriksen, 'Two modes of group identification', 430; T. H. Eriksen, 'Ethnic identity, national identity, and intergroup conflict: the significance of personal experience', in R. Ashmore, L. Justin and D. Wilder (eds), *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict and Conflict Resolution* (Oxford 2001) 61–6.

48 C. Barclay, 'Composing protoselves through improvisation', in U. Neisser (ed.), *The Remembering Self: Construction and Accuracy in the Self-narrative* (Cambridge 1994) 72.

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Political 'expedience' and peripheral saints: assimilating St. Asteios of Dyrrachion in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition

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Nearly twenty years after Antony Bryer raised St. Asteios of Dyrrachion from obscurity this article aspires to shed more light on the significance of this little-known saint. Despite the paucity of archaeological evidence, hagiographic texts help reconstruct and contextualize the steps in the institutionalization of a local martyr that appear to reflect the strategic importance of the city. The limited imagery of St. Asteios, including his unexplored portrait from the church of the Saviour at Rubik in modern Albania, are also used to substantiate his emblematic function as the local model of a Christian martyr-hero and, more importantly, his visual 'identification' with the city of Dyrrachion.

St. Asteios is known as the first bishop of Dyrrachion (mod. *Durrës*, Albania) who was martyred at the time of the emperor Trajan (r. 98–117). Accused of ravaging idols and refusing to denounce Christ, he was tortured and left to die on a cross by the city walls on 5, 6 or 7 July, depending on the cited *athlesis*.[1] His death is associated with the martyrdom of seven secondary martyrs, the so-called Peregrinoi. Encouraged by St. Asteios' defiance, they confessed their faith and were drowned in the sea. Their bodies washed up on the coast and were deposited 'in the sand'.[2]

Despite his modest profile and scant material evidence of his cult, St. Asteios attracted much scholarly interest. He was raised from obscurity by Anthony Bryer and, later, the Buschhausens, who linked his early cult with the south-west chapel of the Roman amphitheatre at Dyrrachion and placed it in the fifth-sixth century.[3]

1 *AASS*, July, II, 284; D. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, VII (Venice 1817) 342; *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris: Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nune Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis* [hereafter *Synaxarion*], ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels 1902) 797–99; *MPG* 117, cols. 525–8.

2 Commemorated on 7 July: *Synaxarion* 805–806; *MPG* 117, cols. 527–30; *AASS*, July, II, 457; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 342.

3 A. Bryer, 'Saint Asteios and the amphitheatre chapel in Dyrrachion', in *ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ στην Μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρας*, I (Athens 1994) 41–5; H. and H. Buschhausen, 'Durazzo und die Anfänge des Christentums in Albanien', *Steine Sprechen* 120/1 (Vienna 2001) 2–19.

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Grozdanov's subsequent work focused on the surviving pictorial representations of the saint, found in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century churches of medieval Ohrid and Serbia.[4] These studies explore the saint's ritual and/or iconographic commemoration within a specific period by relying only on images of him that may have existed (Dyrrachion amphitheatre-chapel) or still survive (Ohrid and Serbia). However, they leave a considerable period unresearched and a number of unanswered questions regarding the tradition of St. Asteios.

How did the tradition of the local saint come to transgress the boundaries of Dyrrachion and become part of the Byzantine Orthodox convention? What do the textual sources tell us about this and how could the socio-political realities at a particular period have contributed to his institutionalization? What did the saint signify for Dyrrachion and what were the similarities and/or differences in the way he was perceived by the imperial centre?

To address these issues, St. Asteios' tradition will be observed as a continuous process rather than an occurrence within a particular period. The possible underlying reasons for the elevation of his ecclesiastical status will be sought in the first hagiographical references to him, dating from the ninth to the early eleventh century. In each case, the authorship and/or patronage of these sources will be examined to see how they may have had an effect on the selection of the saint. His appearance in them will be interpreted after discussing the socio-political circumstances that may have had a bearing on this. The scarce but eloquent artistic evidence from the medieval territories of Albania will be studied in order to determine whether the latter agrees with the promotional frame suggested by the texts. Bryer's theory will be reconsidered in the light of the latest archaeological discoveries. The only undisputed representation of the saint from the medieval province of Dyrrachion will be brought into the discussion for the first time. It is found on the apse of the church of the Saviour at Rubik, near modern Lezhë (medieval *Alessio*), in central Albania. Conclusions will be drawn about the saint's significance for Dyrrachion, the role it may have played in his wider recognition and the ways in which his local significance may have been employed in hagiography and art from the ninth through to the early fourteenth century to convey macro- and micro-political statements.

Hagiographic references to St. Asteios

Ninth century

The earliest textual reference to St. Asteios is contained in the Hierosolym. Sab. Ms. 704, originally found at the monastery of St. Savas in Jerusalem and later housed in the library of the Holy Sepulchre.[5] Two partially preserved folios refer to St. Asteios' martyrdom as

4 Cv. Grozdanov, 'Saint Astios de Dyrrachion dans la peinture du Moyen Âge', in *Αφιέρωμα στη Μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα* (Thessalonike 2001) 79–89.

5 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, II (St. Petersburg 1894) 660.

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part of the episode of the seven Peregrinoi. They probably belonged to a *menologion* or *synaxarion* dated to the ninth century.[6]

Nothing is known of the provenance of the Jerusalem fragment or its association with the Holy Land, nor is it possible at this stage to determine whether the initial collection that contained the *passio* reflected a peripheral or central official tradition. The manuscript may not have originated from Jerusalem at all. It could have been sent as a gift, copied in the monastery, or it may have ended up there by a twist of fate. Despite these uncertainties, the fragment constitutes the earliest known source on St. Asteios and attests to the presence of his *vita* in ninth-century hagiographic literature.

Notably, this period provides the first known recorded liturgy for St. Asteios, compiled by Joseph the Hymnographer (816–86). Excerpts survive in the Par. gr. 13, fol. 330, 1575, fol. 145v and the Vat. gr. 2308, fols. 63–5.[7] The liturgy is mentioned in a twelfth-century July-*Menaion* included in manuscript no. 72 in the library of the Holy Sepulchre.[8]

A firm iconophile, Joseph started his career as a monk in the monastery of Latomou and rose high in the church hierarchy. The end of iconoclasm found him in Constantinople where he enjoyed the favour of patriarchs Ignatios and Photios and the emperor Basil I and was appointed *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia.[9] His hymns, compiled during this period, furnished many famous but also little known saints with their own proper canon.[10]

Joseph's profile raises issues about the patronage of his project. Its magnitude, combined with Joseph's high-ranking position, affiliations and influential patrons has provided grounds to suggest that he received official sponsorship.[11] To which socio-political concerns could Joseph's work have been a response and in what way could these concerns have brought about the compilation of St. Asteios' liturgy?

Tenth–early eleventh century

St. Asteios' *passio* is found in two renowned Byzantine sources, the *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* and the *Menologion of Basil II*.[12] Frashëri's claim that the saint's *athlesis* was also included in the *Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes* is erroneous.[13]

6 J.R. Harris, 'The library of the convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem', *Haverford College Studies* 1 (1889) 13; E.J. Goodspeed, 'A martyrological fragment from Jerusalem', *American Journal of Philology* 23 (1902) 68–74; H. Delehaye, 'Un fragment de ménologe trouvé à Jérusalem', *AB* 22 (1903) 408–10.

7 E.I. Tomadakes, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ Ἔργον* (Athens 1971) 174.

8 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 131.

9 Tomadakes, *Ιωσήφ*, 69–73.

10 N. Patterson-Ševčenko, 'Canon and calendar: the role of a ninth-century hymnographer in shaping the celebration of saints', in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot 1998) 101–14.

11 Patterson-Ševčenko, 'Canon and calendar', 101–14.

12 See note 1.

13 His argument was based on an inaccurate, sixteenth-century reproduction: K. Frashëri, 'Fillimet e Krishterimit në viset Shqiptarë', *Studime Historike*, no. 1/2 (2000) 5–19, esp. 15. Erhard's accepted list of originally

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The two versions relate the same basic story. In the *Menologion*, the account is marginally more elaborate and embellished with a narrative detail whereby the saint is made aware of his forthcoming martyrdom in a dream and forewarns his priests to escape in order to save themselves:

Constantinopolitan Synaxarion	*Menologion of Basil II*
Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἀστείου ἐπισκόπου Δυρραχίου. Οὗτος ἦν ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ἀγρικολάου ἡγεμόνος. Συσχεσθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τῶν πρώτων τῆς πόλεως καὶ θῦσαι τοῖς εἰδώλοις μὴ πεισθείς, ἄγεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρικόλαον καὶ τύπτεται χερσὶ μολιβδίναις καὶ βουνεύροις. Ἐπιμένων δὲ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστει, ἐχρίσθη μέλιτι καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλου πλησίον τοῦ τείχους ἀνεσκαλοπίσθη. Ἐν ὥρᾳ δὲ θέρους, ἡλίου φλέγοντος, ὑπὸ σφηκῶν καὶ μυῶν ἐνοχλούμενος καί κεντούμενος ἀπέδωκεν τὴν ψυχήν.	Ἀστεῖος ὁ ἱερομάρτυς, ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Τραϊανοῦ· κρατηθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶν, παρεδόθη Ἀγρικολάῳ ἡμεμόνι καί προτραπεὶς ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ θῦσαι τοῖς εἰδώλοις, ἐλλιπῆ πεισθείς, παρεκέμφθη (*sic*) φυλακῇ. Πρὸ τοῦ κρατηθῆναι, ἐθεάσατο τοιοῦτον ὄναρ· Ἑαυτὸν ἔβλεπεν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἑστῶτα κεχρισμένον πίσσῃ καὶ ἐλαίῳ. Καὶ ἔξυπνος γενόμενος εἶπε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κληρικοῖς· Ἀδελφοί, δεῖ με παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· λοιπόν ὑμεῖς ἀπέλθετε ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ὅπου δύναται διασωθῆναι. Τοῦτο εἰπών, ἐκρατήθη, ὡς εἴρηται. Καὶ παραστάς τῷ Ἀγρικολάῳ, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογήσας, ἀπεκλείσθη εἰς φυλακήν. Καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐκβληθείς, ἐτύφθη σφαίραις μολυβδίναις. Εἶτα ἀλιφεὶς μέλιτι, ἐκρεμάσθη ἐπὶ ξύλου ἐν ὥρᾳ καύματος, ὅπως ὑπὸ σφηκῶν καὶ μυιῶν καταβρωθεὶς ἀποθάνῃ. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου, εὐχαρίστως φέρων τὴν τιμωρίαν, παρέδωκε τὴν ψυχήν.

The *Synaxarion* was almost certainly commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (r. 913–59), an author himself and patron of hagiographic texts. It is not clear whether it was intended for the liturgy of Hagia Sophia. Together with the *Metaphrastic Menologion*, it inaugurated the tradition of imperial sponsorship of hagiographic collections. This suggests that the genre had acquired levels of significance that attracted the interest of the highest secular power.[14]

The work misleadingly known as the *Menologion of Basil II* (preserved in the *Vat. gr.* 1613) – it is a *synaxarion* – was produced at the behest of Basil II (r. 976–1025), probably at the beginning of the eleventh century.[15] As no accompanying illuminations

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included saints invalidates Frashëri's claim: N. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago and London 1990) 209–13; C. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen 2002) 172–4. Also for the *Metaphrastic* corpus: S. der Nersessian, 'The illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium', in G. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann (eds.), *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honour of A. M. Friend Jr.* (Princeton 1955) 222–31; N. Patterson-Ševčenko, 'Six illustrated editions of the Metaphrastian Menologium', *JÖB* 32/4 (1982) 187–96.

14 B. Flusin, 'L' empereur hagiographe. Remarques sur le rôle des premiers empereurs macédoniens dans la culte des saints', in P. Guran (ed.), *L' Empereur Hagiographe. Culte des Saints et Monarchie Byzantine et Post-Byzantine* (Bucarest 2001) 29–54, esp. 41–7 ; Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 54–6; S. Efthymiadis, 'Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (eighth-tenth centuries), in *idem* (ed.), *Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume I, Periods and Places* (Farnham 2011) 129–30 (including previous bibliogaphy).

15 S. der Nersessian, 'Remarks on the date of the Menologium and the Psalter written for Basil II', *B* 15 (1940–41) 104–25; I. Ševčenko, 'The illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II', *DOP* 16 (1962) 245–76;

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survive, it is not possible to say whether and how the saint was represented in the manuscript.[16]

Either an imperially commissioned *unicum* or reproduction of an earlier work, the *Menologion* provides an insight into the official ecclesiastical and liturgical textbooks of the period.[17] Certainly, the decision to opt for an undistinguished saint from distant Illyria is noteworthy and may have had a particular meaning. Notably, while discussing the absence of tenth-century saints that had been included in previous *synaxaria*, der Nersessian asked 'whether the scribes ... neglected important saints in favour of others who were considered to be more importan.'[18] The remark was used to argue that the *Menologion* followed an early tenth-century source but it raises a question pertinent to the subject in hand: in what way could St. Asteios have been significant enough to upstage other illustrious saints?

To understand how and for which purposes the saint's hagiographic commemoration may have been employed, I shall look closely into the historical context of the period, the revised role of Dyrrachion in the broader socio-political picture of Byzantium and, most importantly, the ways in which hagiography appears to have reflected and/or served secular ends.

Byzantium in the ninth and tenth century

For Byzantium, the late eighth and ninth century was a period of 'regrouping' after the so-called 'Dark Age', a lengthy crisis involving territorial losses, institutional deterioration, compromises compelled by the emerging powers of the West and the Arabs and, importantly, iconoclasm. Restoring political and ecclesiastical authority represented one aspect of this regrouping whereby the conflict with the Bulgarians and the missionary activity amongst the Slavs were critical facets. The term 'revival' is also used to express the scale of reforms undertaken at the time to meet both the practical and ideological challenges imposed by the crisis. Of these the most imperative was to restore the confidence and faith of the disoriented Byzantine society in the power, institutions and identity of the empire.[19]

The legal, administrative and military changes and the artistic and cultural developments at the time have been interpreted as components of a virtual Byzantine 'strategy' to this end. This found expression through a redefinition of Byzantine institutions, intended

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S.A. Paschalidis, 'The hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in Efthymiadis, *Byzantine Hagiography*, 145.

16 St. Asteios' *vita* is included in the now lost second volume of the *Menologion*. I follow the accepted view that the copy in the *PG* is an accurate reproduction: F. Bocca, *Il Menologio di Basilio II (cod. Vaticano Graeco 1613)*, Testo 1 (Torino 1907) viii–xi; *MPG* 117, cols. 525–8.

17 der Nersessian, 'Remarks'.

18 der Nersessian, 'Remarks',108. The same question was raised for the *Metaphrastic Menologion* indicating that the selection of saints remains to be explored: Ševčenko, 'The illuminators' 5–6.

19 See W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842* (Stanford 1988).

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to accommodate the emerging political realities and consolidate the Byzantine regime. Its keynote was a reinvented and empowered political and cultural identity embracing and embraced by all imperial subjects. This renewed self-perspective was also aimed to thwart foreign pretenses to the Roman imperial title, by advertising the continuing links of the Byzantine empire to Late Antiquity.[20]

The recovery led to Byzantium's peak in the tenth century though the Bulgarian threat was not thwarted until the early eleventh century. The so-called 'Macedonian Renaissance' took the earlier attempts for cultural 'redefinition' to a more sophisticated level. It further upheld the ideology of the 'untainted Roman identity' through its interest in classical models and values both in art and literature.[21]

The significance of Dyrrachion

Since its foundation as Epidamnos and conquest by the Romans in the second century AD, Dyrrachion was invariably affected by its advantageous location as a sheltered port on the eastern Adriatic coast and a strategic gateway of the Via Egnatia, connecting Italy to the Balkans and Greece to Dalmatia. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Dyrrachion continued to be a crucial portal to the west.[22] Its position attracted the interest and attention of emperors who ensured its reinforcement against the invasions of the migration period. It was the birthplace of Anastasios I, who had the city and its walls rebuilt after a devastating earthquake. The reported construction of a hippodrome is indicative of the city's elevated status and the emperor's projected association with it. Justin I financed the restoration of Dyrrachion after another earthquake while the reinforcement of its walls was part of Justinian's extensive fortification project including also Illyricum and Epiros.[23]

The Slavic invasions from the sixth century on had essentially divided the western Balkan region and the inland routes fell into disuse. Distance and circumstances isolated Dyrrachion from Constantinople though it remained under Byzantine rule. The political and military withdrawal of the Byzantines from the Balkans accentuated the detachment of pockets like Dyrrachion from the centre. In the seventh and eighth century, the city still represented a Byzantine cultural footing in the region without, however, its previous strategic importance. Different policies and rivals had diverted the focus of the empire to more urgent fronts.[24]

20 Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 330–3; *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, ed. L. Brubaker (Aldershot 1998).

21 For the term 'Macedonian Renaissance', see J. Hanson, 'The rise and fall of the Macedonian Renaissance', in L. James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium* (Oxford 2010) 338–50.

22 For the history of Dyrrachion: A. Gutteridge, 'Cultural geographies and "the Ambition of Latin Europe": the city of Durres and its fortifications c. 400–c.1501', in *Archeologia Medievale* 30 (2003) 19–65.

23 Hippodromes acted as visual signifiers of imperial presence and power: Gutteridge, 'Cultural geographies', 26–7.

24 See T. E. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium* (Oxford 2005) 156–8.

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Byzantium's recovery from the late eighth century on redefined its political priorities and redirected its attention to the Balkan region. The Byzantine presence there was restored and the Via Egnatia was revived. The conversion of the Slavs became a priority ensuring the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical expansion and scoring points against similar attempts by the West. A significant obstacle was posed by the ambitions of the Bulgarians who became a target of imperial policies throughout the tenth and early eleventh century.

The new strategic dynamics rendered Dyrrachion, again, instrumental for Byzantine policies. It became a primary stopover for intra-Balkan communications which intensified in the second half of the ninth century. It was the crossing point between the traditional sea routes to Constantinople and the newly revived roadway which offered a safer route given the dangers of sea piracy.[25] Dyrrachion's importance increased because of Byzantium's rivalry with Rome for control over the up and coming Bulgarian church. The eastern Adriatic region was used as a political and cultural bulwark against papal expansion into the Balkans was explicit and Dyrrachion was the key.[26]

Certain policies of this period underline the strong Byzantine interest in consolidating control over Dyrrachion and reinforcing its ties with the centre. The nomination of a bishop for the city in the synod of Photios in 879 is one such example. This decision essentially put into effect the ecclesiastical transfer of Dyrrachion from Rome to Constantinople which had taken place in 732–733 but remained nominal.[27] The synod's first act confirms the urgency to appoint bishops in the sees of central Albania (Dyrrachion, Stefaniaka, Kroia).[28] The appointment also indicates the aspirations of the ninth-century Byzantine Church which emerged from the iconoclast controversy eager to strengthen its presence in the Balkans.[29]

The appointment of the first *archon* in Dyrrachion is also symptomatic of its importance.[30] The establishment of an *archon* in the city has been linked with imperial attempts to regulate the mechanisms of trade and transportation. Notably, the establishment of control over the economy and access to strategic geographic passageways has been

25 Gutteridge, 'Cultural geographies', 32–4.

26 J.V.A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor 1983) 113–17.

27 M.V. Anastos, 'The transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople 732-33', *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957) 14–31; D.H. Miller, 'Byzantine-papal relations during the pontificate of Paul I: confirmation and completion of the Roman revolution of the eight century', *BZ* 68 (1975) 47–62.

28 *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia* [hereinafter *AA*], eds. L. Thallóczy, C. Jireček and E. Sufflay, I (Vienna 1913) 14, no. 57; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 353.

29 J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986) esp. 90–2; Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 212–13.

30 H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La Marine de guerre, la politique et les Institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII-XV siècles* (Paris 1966) 71–2; Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 200. For the *archon* in medieval Albania: K. Frashëri, 'Les Albanais et Byzance au VIe-XIe siècles', in Ch. Gasparis (ed.), *The Medieval Albanians* (Athens 1998) 47–57, esp. 53–7.

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interpreted to have acted as a marker of political and cultural identity.[31] Therefore, the appointment of an *archon* may have served to reaffirm the Byzantine imprint on Dyrrachion and capitalize on its strategic and 'symbolic' power at a critical period for the redefinition of the empire. The almost concurrent establishment of the theme of Dyrrachion is also viewed as a reaction to the growing administrative role of the region in tackling Arab piracy in the Adriatic and Slavic expansion from the north.[32]

Dyrrachion remained a crucial factor in the tenth and early eleventh century as the Byzantine policy in the Balkans culminated and the confrontation with the Bulgarians dominated. Their encroachments had impaired the Byzantine authority in the region and Dyrrachion changed hands at least twice before its recovery by Basil II. He was the emperor who restored imperial rule by achieving final victory over tsar Samuel.[33] For him, Byzantine control over the city was critical because it ensured the reopening of the Via Egnatia and Byzantine control north of Thessalonike.[34]

The way Basil II manipulated the ecclesiastical authority of Dyrrachion to facilitate his plans illustrates the political expediency of the city. Its sudden episcopal status and jurisdiction during his rule is thought to have had multiple motives:[35] the need to safeguard the imperial jurisdiction against encroachments from the archbishopric of Ohrid when this was under Bulgarian control and to maximize the impact of Dyrrachion in the conversion of the Slavs residing in the northern regions.[36] Unsurprisingly, the promotion of the Dyrrachion metropolis ended when Ohrid was recovered in 1020.[37]

The 'motivations' of hagiography

My attempt to explain the inclusion of St. Asteios' narrative in the sources as a deliberate decision relates to questions that remain unclear and require caution: the selection criteria for saints commemorated in hagiographies; the aspirations of authors and sponsors and the factors affecting the composition of such works; in brief, the 'motives' of hagiography, especially when imperial patronage is involved.

31 Gutteridge, 'Cultural geographies', 33.

32 Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 82–3. The date of the establishment is disputed: J. Ferluga, 'Sur la date de la création du thème de Dyrrachium', in *idem* (ed.), *Byzantium on the Balkans. Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIth Centuries* (Amsterdam 1976) 225–44; D. Nicol, 'The foundation of the themes of Kephallenia, Dyrrachium and Nikopolis', in M. Sakellariou (ed.), *Epirus: 4000 Years of Greek History* (Athens 1997) 185–86.

33 Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 188–201; C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of the Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford 2005) 154–6; F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500-1250* (Cambridge 2006) 237–47.

34 P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204* (Cambridge 2004) esp. 61–71.

35 P. Stephenson, 'The Balkan frontier in the year 1000', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden 2003) 117–19.

36 F. Dvornik, *The Slavs: their Early History and Civilization* (Boston 1956) 279–81.

37 *AA*, 15–16, nos. 58 and 59.

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The social dimension and role of hagiography in certain periods allows suggestions about the potential causes it may have facilitated.[38] For instance, it is acknowledged that, during Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period, hagiography acted as a vehicle for the entrenchment and dissemination of the rising culture of saints. In fact, several socio-political changes of the period were upheld by the values and role models promoted in contemporary hagiography.[39] Interest in the genre was rekindled with the Byzantine 'revival' and in the tenth century. It is against this backdrop that hagiography should be viewed and evaluated. Alongside the legal or literary achievements of the period that provided solid bases for a new institutional and cultural self-perspective, hagiography appears to have played a similar part by providing a practical and spiritual framework within which the Orthodox doctrine and liturgy was to be practiced across the empire.[40] Not only did hagiography reflect the crisis and was affected by it but, especially after 843, everything points to 'political' priorities behind it.[41] Late Antiquity hagiographies resurfaced and were used as evidence to support the veneration of icons. New biographies were compiled to commemorate the saint-heroes (iconophile defenders, monastics and ascetics) of the new era, essentially promulgating the post-iconoclastic Orthodox doctrine and principles.[42]

Inasmuch as hagiography is considered to have supported social and political developments, it can be used as a tool for understanding contemporary realities, tendencies and 'ideological' projections.[43] This was made possible because the instigators involved (authors, patrons etc.) imbued hagiography with their views and ambitions and utilized it to pursue their personal, spiritual and institutional interests.

The fact that the authorship, patronage or historical context of hagiographies is not always known hinders the identification of underlying motivations. Still, cases for which

38 S. Efthymiadis, 'The Byzantine hagiographer and his audience in the ninth and tenth centuries', in C. Høgel (ed.), *Metaphrasis and audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography* (Oslo 1996) 59–80; *idem*, 'New developments in hagiography: the discovery of Byzantine hagiography', in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21–26 August 2006*, vol. 1, Plenary Papers (Aldershot 2006) 157–71 (both reprinted in *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social History and Cult* (Farnham 2011) studies XI, I).

39 S. Efthymiadis and V. Déroche, 'Greek hagiography in Late Antiquity' (fourth-seventh centuries)', in Efthymiadis, *Byzantine hagiography*, 35–96.

40 For instance, the legal codification initiated by Basil I or the systematization of existing knowledge by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. See A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogennetus and his World* (London 1973) esp. 1–25; L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680-850): the Sources. An Annotated Survey* (Aldershot 2001) 287–93.

41 Efthymiades, 'Dark Age', 108–13.

42 Efthymiades, 'Dark Age', 99–103. For hagiography and propaganda: M.F. Auzépy, *L' Hagiographie et l' Iconoclasme byzantin. Le cas de la Vie d' Étienne le Jeune* (Aldershot 1999) ; *idem*, 'Manifestations de la propagande en faveur de l' Orthodoxie', in Brubaker (ed.), *Dead or Alive?*, 85–99.

43 A. Kazhdan, 'Constantinopolitan Synaxarium as a source for social history of Byzantium', in R.F. Taft (ed.), *The Christian East. Its Institutions and its Thought. A Critical Reflection* (Rome 1996) 485–515.

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this information survives indicate that motivation did exist.[44] Theodoros Stoudites or Michael Synkellos were certainly driven by and communicated their theological concerns in their works.[45] The commission of hagiographies by ecclesiastics or monastics shows an aspiration to add to their institution's repute and their own personal image.[46]

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that emperors also tried to boost their own image through similar commissions, however unclear the degree of their involvement may remain.[47] Basil II's enraged reaction to a comment made in the *Metaphrastic Menologion*, which he considered offensive – he forbade its use and burned it – may have been exaggerated by Ephraim who reported it but reveals some insight into the perceived relationship between patrons and commissioned products: intervention existed even in the form of approval.[48] This remark is useful in seeking the more practical aspects behind the selection of St. Asteios' *passio* for the cited hagiographic sources, since all but one of them is, directly or indirectly, associated with emperors and the policy-making centres.

The testimony of the sources: the official approach to the saint

The ninth-century rehabilitation of Byzantium, the key function of Dyrrachion in this process and the imperial policies in the tenth and early eleventh century provide the contextual frame within which we should view the inclusion of St. Asteios' *passio* in official Byzantine hagiographic sources. Given the active role of hagiography in shaping the post-iconoclastic Orthodox and cultural self-perspective, the sources invite additional readings in this context.

Despite their unknown provenance and patronage, the surviving folios from Jerusalem are useful because they prove that St. Asteios' *passio* predates the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion*. How early the original composition was is unknown. The process by which hagiographies that were initially produced for a specific local use (i.e. a saint's cult) ended up in different places and ultimately formed part of church calendars is unclear. The Jerusalem manuscript probably represents a stage in the geographic 'translations' that the *passio* of the Peregrinoi and St. Asteios underwent before they were included in the above-mentioned Byzantine sources.[49]

The ninth-century compilation of the saint's liturgy is a defining step in the development of his 'status', signalling his introduction into the official liturgy. It coincides with the doctrinal and liturgical reform of the Byzantine Church and the period when the patriarch Photios brought about the subordination of Dyrrachion to Constantinople. One may suggest that this reform took into account the wider causes that Dyrrachion

44 Efthymiadis, 'New developments', 166–9.
45 Efthymiadis, 'Dark Age', 102–3.
46 Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 51–3.
47 *Høgel, Symeon Metaphrastes*, 59–60.
48 *Høgel, Symeon Metaphrastes*, 69–70, 127–9.
49 Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 31–6.

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served. The liturgical incorporation of its local saint may represent a textual and customary adaptation to contemporary realities. It may have served as a means to facilitate the integration of the local populations into the renewed Orthodox tradition and – by extension – the reconstructed common Byzantine identity. Social and cultural consistency had been impaired in the Balkans by the settlement of immigrants, as the indigenous inhabitants tended to see themselves as different from the newcomers.[50]

The involvement of Joseph the Hymnographer reinforces the possibility that St. Asteios' liturgy may have been the result of an informed decision. His association with imperial and patriarchal circles indicates awareness of contemporary policies and concerns, likely echoed in his work.[51] By providing a common liturgical ground, he effectively aided in establishing the concept and content of a single Orthodox convention for all Byzantine subjects.[52] The official sanction of a local saint thereby can be understood as an act of religious and cultural consolidation.

The imperial patronage of the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion* is far more certain and adds an intriguing value to the references to St. Asteios there. This direct association questions the potential motives behind their commission and the criteria applied during the selection of the saints who were included. Given the acknowledged interplay between hagiography and socio-political contexts, officially sponsored works can be seen to mirror contemporary concerns, aspirations and policy-making.

The insertion of St. Asteios' *vita* in the *Synaxarion* signals his institutionalization in the post-iconoclastic hagiography and Orthodox tradition. That *synaxaria* traditionally included 'all accepted or wanted saints' does not preclude the possibility of subjectivity on the part of their compilers and/or patrons,[53] nor does it negate the significance of St. Asteios' inclusion in the *Synaxarion*.[54] Firstly, it shows that he was an endorsed saint. Moreover, the Constantinopolitan provenance and imperial patronage of the *Synaxarion* reinforces this view. By association, the saint's endorsement may have acted to confirm the Byzantine identity of his city. Inviting 'locality' to participate in the cultural and liturgical frame of the empire can be seen as part of the attempt to construct an 'ecumenical' Christian tradition by embracing and integrating local distinctiveness.

For some scholars, the *Menologion* probably copied the *Synaxarion* (recension B*), in which case the appearance of St. Asteios' *vita* should perhaps not come as a surprise. However, there are significant differences between the two which suggest that the scribes and/or the patron used their own initiative to retain the narrative.[55] Its association with Basil II allows us to view it as a mouthpiece for political statements. He was the emperor

50 Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 157.

51 See note 9.

52 Tomadakes, "Ιωσήφ', 77–8.

53 Kazhdan, 'Constantinopolitan Synaxarion', 485–515.

54 Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 55.

55 A. Luzzi, 'El "Menologio de Basilio II" y el semestre invernal de la recencio B* del Sinaxario de Constantinopla', in I. Pérez-Martin (ed.), *El "Menologio de Basilio II". Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Gr. 1613.Libro des Estudios con ocasión de la edición fascímil*, Colección Scriptorum 18 (Vatican

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who recovered Dyrrachion from the Bulgarians in 1005 and did not hesitate to use its ecclesiastical status for his political ends. St. Asteios' *vita* in his *Menologion* may have acted to seal the painstakingly attained Byzantine rule over Dyrrachion and validate the participation of the local saint in the Byzantine ecclesiastical convention. After all, the incident with the Metaphrastic *Menologion* shows that Basil II left little to chance when it came to his image or pursuits.

The suggested political reading of St. Asteios' course in hagiography may seem to rest on an argument *ex silentio*, as no sources prior to the ninth century survive. This view cannot be overlooked given the nature of evidence. Nonetheless, the fact that the production of these texts coincides with periods of Dyrrachion's critical importance for the imperial interests is noteworthy and should not be taken lightly. More so since a similar pattern of hagiographic integration applies for other saints associated with the western corridor of the Via Egnatia. St. Isauros of Apollonia was also ushered into the Byzantine liturgical practice through a canon by Joseph the Hymnographer.[56] It survives in Hierosolym. Sab. Ms. 70, fols. 76v–78v, a *menaion* found in the monastery of St. Savas in Jerusalem and dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century.[57] A note by the scribe ties it with a Byzantine monastery dedicated to the Saviour Akataleptos (in Constantinople?).[58]

Remarkably, St. Isauros' *athlesis* was also included in the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion*.[59] His commemoration here is chronologically placed very close to that of St. Asteios unlike later hagiographic collections.[60] This 'proximity' echoes the affiliation of their local cults, undoubtedly spurred by the translation of St. Isauros' relics from Apollonia to Dyrrachion. When and how this came about is not known. Their joint commemoration is reported in 1210.[61] A Latin charter from the Ragusan archives of 15 January 1383 informs that the cathedral of Dyrrachion was the centre of both cults.[62] The association has not escaped iconography. The two saints are paired on the eastern wall of the church of the Holy Apostles at Peč (c. 1260), in the *diakonikon* of the church of St. Clement at Ohrid (1294–95) and the *naos* of the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričino (1316–18).[63]

This local practice appears symptomatic of the administrative and cultural affiliation of the two cities. Apollonia was another strategic passageway of the theme of Dyrrachion

Continued

City, Athens and Madrid 2008) 47–75; Paschalidis, 'The hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', 145.

56 Commemorated with his co-martyrs on 17 June: *AASS*, June, III (Antwerp 1701) 287–8.

57 Tomadakes, "Ιωσήφ', 170.

58 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 118 and 124. The liturgy is also preserved in Patm. Ms. 806A: E. Papaeliopoulou-Fotopoulou, *Ταμεῖον Ἀνεκδότων Βυζαντινῶν Ἀσματικῶν* (Athens 1996) 220.

59 *Synaxarion*, 804–5; *MPG* 117, cols. 527–8.

60 The *Synaxarion* places it on 7 July while the *Menologion* puts is on 6 July, the same day as St. Asteios.

61 A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l' Albanie au Moyen Âge* (Thessalonike 1981) 32, 55.

62 Ducellier, *La façade maritime* 55, no. 55. Remarkably, the recently constructed Orthodox cathedral in Dyrrachion is dedicated to the two saints.

63 Grozdanov, 'Saint Astios', figs. on pages 80, 82, 83.

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and an alternative access point into the Via Egnatia, later outshone by neighbouring Avlona (mod. Vlorë).[64] The latter is linked with St. Eleftherios, another saint whose establishment in the official Orthodox tradition followed identical steps: a canon by Joseph the Hymnographer and the incorporation of his *vita* in the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion*.[65] Apollonia and Avlona were apparently subject to the same geopolitical circumstances as Dyrrachion, a reality that defined their cultural geography and importance in a similar manner.

To the above-mentioned saints I should also add the Peregrinoi whose *athlesis* is included in the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion*.[66] The same applies to St. Danaktas of Avlona, a reader of holy scripts who was drowned by idolaters.[67] Though no liturgy is known to have been composed for them by official circles, reference to them in the imperially commissioned hagiographic compilations amounted to their de facto canonization.[68]

In the two works that largely reflect the 'narrowed geography' of the empire, broader Illyricum is represented with additional saints associated with it by origin or martyrdom, such as St. Ursikios and Sts. Floros and Lauros whose liturgy was also compiled by Joseph the Hymnographer.[69] Emphasis is given though to saints connected with Epirus Nova and, particularly, cities-passages of the western Via Egnatia. The official sanction of Sts. Asteios, Isauros and Eleftherios through hagiography and liturgy at the same time and manner gives the impression of a conscious attempt by the Byzantine regime to assimilate the saint-martyrs of the region when this became politically and culturally crucial.

The visual testimony: the local approach to the saint

The Dyrrachion amphitheatre-chapel: a Middle Byzantine intervention?

Interpreting the hagiographic integration of St. Asteios as the result of a cause/effect process provides a platform for contextualizing the function of the south-west chapel

64 H. Saradi, 'Aspects of early Byzantine urbanism in Albania', in Ch. Gasparis (ed.), *The Mediaeval Albanians* (Athens 1998) 90. The construction of the Monastery of the Virgin and the chrysobulls issued by the Komnenoi and the Palaiologoi emperors for it, the commission of the imperial dedicatory portrait with Michael VIII in its exonarthex and the iconography of its refectory demonstrate the subsequent Byzantine interest in the area: H. and H. Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien : Byzantiner, Normannen und Serben im Kampf um die Via Egnatia* (Vienna 1976); J.J. Yannias, 'The Palaeologan refectory program at Apollonia', in S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (eds.), *The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton 1991) 161–74.

65 He was the bishop of Illyricum, martyred for his missionary activity in the second century AD (commemorated on 15 December): Tomadakes, "Ιωσήφ', 133; *Synaxarion*. 307; *MPG*. 117, cols. 207–8.

66 See note 2.

67 Commemorated on 16 January: *Synaxarion*, 397; *MPG* 117, col. 261–2.

68 Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 59.

69 For St. Ursikios (commemorated on 15 August): *Synaxarion*, 892; *MPG*, 117, cols. 585–6. For Sts. Floros and Lauros (commemorated on 18 August): Tomadakes, "Ιωσήφ', 184; *Synaxarion*, 907; *MPG*, 117, col. 589–90. For the 'narrowed geography' in post-iconoclastic hagiography: Efthymiadis, 'Dark Age', 96.

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of the city's amphitheatre in view of the recent re-dating of its painted and mosaic decoration and its supported association with the early cult of St. Asteios (Fig. 1).[70]

Despite the wide scholarly interest in the chapel's mosaics, their date remains uncertain. Their late antique style and function as votive donations and the use of elements from imperial imagery has so far favoured a date of the sixth or seventh century (Figs. 2a, b).[71] This view inevitably affected the date of the less known, underlying wall paintings, most of which were covered by the mosaics. Outlines of unidentifiable standing figures are detected with difficulty on the north wall, which was not decorated with mosaics (Fig. 3). The array probably continued on the west wall as suggested by the clearly outlined figure on the uncovered north-west corner.[72]

These portraits were instrumental in Bryer's theory that the chapel functioned as the *cella martyriae* of St. Asteios. This was based on the functional and architectural similarities of the site with the chapel of the amphitheatre at Salona.[73] The latter is safely identified as the *cella martyriae* of St. Domnios, the city's first saint-bishop, because it includes portraits of him and his companions in martyrdom.[74] By analogy, Bryer and the Buschhausens held that the portraits at the Dyrrachion chapel

70 For the amphitheatre: A. Gutteridge, A. Hoti and P. Reynolds, 'The walled town of Dyrrachium (Durres): new light on the early defences', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 (2001) 390–410; K. Bowes et al., 'An amphitheatre and its afterlives: survey and excavation in the Durres amphitheatre', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003) 380–94 (including previous bibliography); S. Sartori, A. Hoti and B. Assi, 'L' amfiteatro Romano di Durazzo. Studi e scavi 2004-5', *Annuario della Scuola Arceologica di Atene* 83, ser. 3, II (2005) 716–805.

71 Views range from the sixth to the eleventh century: A. Ducellier, 'Dernières découvertes sur des sites Albanais du Moyen Âge', *Archeologia* 78 (1975) 35–45; J. Castrillo, 'L' énigme de la mosaïque de Durrës dans le courrier des lectures', *Archeologia* 79 (1975) 82–3; N. Thierry, 'À propos de la mosaïque murale de Durrës', *Archeologia* 83 (1975) 60–2; J. Reynis-Jandot, 'La mosaïque murale dans la chapelle de l' amphitheatre de Dyrrachium, *Iliria* 1 (1983) 229–32; R. Cormack, *The Church of Saint Demetrios: the Water Colours and Drawings of W.S. George* (Thessalonike1985) 50–94; M. Andaloro, 'I mosaici parietali di Durazzo o dell' origine Constantinopolitana del tema iconografico di Maria Regina', in O. Feld and V. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur Spätantiken und Byzantinischen Kunst* III (Rome 1986) 103–12; Dh. Dhamo, 'Les mosaïques paléochrètiennes', *Histoire et Archaeologie* 111 (1986) 56–61; L. Miraj, 'The chapel in the amphitheater of Dyrrachium and its mosaics', in M. Buora (ed.), *Progetto Durrës: L' Indagine sui beni Culturali Albanesi dell' Antichità e del Medioevo. Tradizioni di Studio a Confronto* (Trieste 2003) 245–90.

72 Vestiges survive on the arched entrance, the bare edges of the south wall, the north-west corner, the north wall and the ceiling of the west alcove. The programme of the ceiling is partly reconstructed: Dh. Dhamo, 'Konsiderata mbi zhvillimin a mosaikut Paleokristian në Shqipëri', *Iliria* 16/1 (1986) 311–19; Busschausen, 'Durazzo', 7; K. Bowes and J. Mitchell, 'The main chapel of the Durres amphitheatre. decoration and chronology', *Mélanges de l'école francaise de Rome* 121/1 (2009) 571–97, esp. 580–1.

73 Bryer, 'Saint Asteios', 42; Busschausen, 'Durazzo', 9–11. The chapel at Salona supersedes a gladiatorial sanctuary dedicated to Nemesis-Fortuna, the patroness of gladiators: E. Dyggve, *Recherches à Salone*, II (Copenhagen 1933) 35–150; *idem*, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo 1951) 5–11; E. Ceci, *I Monumenti Cristiani di Salona* (Milan 1963) 241–3.

74 G. Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Functions, and Patronage* (Toronto, Buffalo and London 2003) 213–30.

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Fig. 1. Durrës amphitheatre, south-west chapel, south-east view.

depict St. Asteios and the Peregrinoi. They dated them to the fifth century; according to them, the portraits signalled the beginning of the amphitheatre's Christian use.[75]

A recent study questions the accepted contextual perspective of the chapel by challenging its early Christian phase. Based on latest archaeological discoveries, it argues that the amphitheatre's Christian use began after the seventh century and that the chapel had a private funerary function.[76] Most importantly, examination of the portraits using modern technology indicated a date between the ninth and eleventh century. The figure on the northernmost corner of the west wall was confirmed to be a saint-bishop with a *pallium* while the representation of a warrior saint was confirmed for the north wall (Fig. 3).[77] These details are not sufficient to challenge – or confirm – Bryer's identification of the portraits. However, the re-dating provides valuable insight into the use of artistic practices at the time that are relevant to the subject at hand.

A Middle Byzantine framework for the painted images affects the date and art historical approach of the overlying mosaics. In fact, the re-interpretation of their iconography also placed these in a Middle Byzantine context. This view requires re-appreciating the function of the mosaics and querying the employment of a late antique 'style' in this

75 Bryer, 'Saint Asteios' 44; Busschausen, 'Durazzo', 11.

76 Bowes and Mitchell, 'Main chapel', 593.

77 Bowes and Mitchell, 'Main chapel', 575–6.

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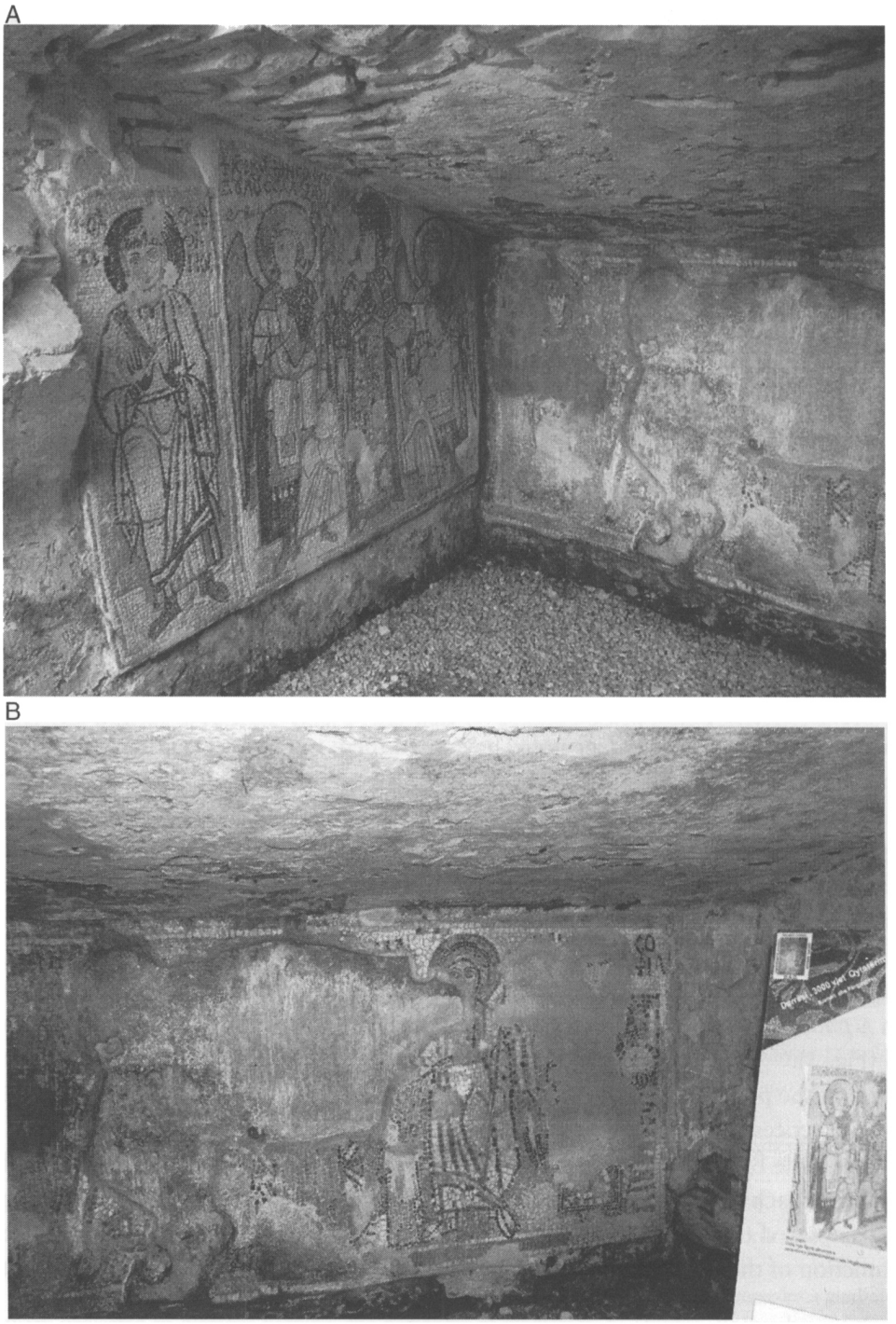


Fig. 2 (a) Durrës amphitheatre, south-west chapel, south and west walls with mosaic decoration: (b) Durrës amphitheatre, south-west chapel, west wall with mosaic decoration.



Fig. 3. Durrës amphitheatre, south-west chapel, north wall, painted portraits (St. Asteios and the Peregrinoi (?) [K. Bowes and J. Mitchell, 'The Main Chapel of the Durres Amphitheatre. Decoration and chronology', *Mélanges de l' École française de Rome* 121, no. 1 (2009) 582, fig. 8].

period. How could this visual 'anachronism' fit into a Middle Byzantine artistic setting and the cultural milieu of Dyrrachion?

The corollary of a post-iconoclastic *terminus* for these mosaics is the deliberate use of an old-fashioned style, a Middle Byzantine commission willingly reproducing a late antique past. This concept was probably not confined to a stylistic *mimesis* applied to contemporary subject matter. It also involved the re-enactment of messages, functions and artistic means proper to much earlier periods. In other words, the Middle Byzantine patrons of the mosaics aimed to project – or retrospectively invent – a Christian past in terms of both style and essence. This preference may be understood and could have been used as a vehicle of reaffirming the cultural and – by extension – political and institutional continuation that Byzantium was eager to declare after the iconoclastic crisis, already mentioned in relation to the textual evidence on St. Asteios. The emphasis on political, legal and cultural continuity as a way of confirming Byzantine 'Romanness' has been thoroughly discussed.[78] To this end, intellectual and visual means were also rallied.

78 See note 20.

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Occasional forgery was employed to harness new sources and early Christian models, namely of the sixth century, were diligently reproduced.[79] Iconophiles also used to uncover old icons in order to support the continuity of iconolatry from the early Christian period.[80]

A Middle Byzantine context for the chapel's patronage raises interesting points that should be noted, also as a response to the recent view that 'the amphitheatre of the Middle Byzantine period was a dark, damp and ... catacomb-like place ... with debris-filled galleries.'[81] First of all, the successive construction and decorative phases of the chapel confirm continuity in its use as a funerary space. This agrees with the on-going function of the amphitheatre as a Christian necropolis, suggested by the numerous clusters of Christian burials found in the arena and close to the main chapel and the additional chapels discovered in the amphitheatre's north section. Findings indicate simple and unpretentious burials dating from the seventh to the tenth century at least.[82]

However, there is nothing simple or unpretentious about the patrons that commissioned the mosaic panels. The selection of such an expensive artistic medium says a great deal about the patrons' capacity and position. Considering also the shortage in the supply of materials such as mosaic *tesserae* in post-iconoclastic Byzantium and the need for specialized artists, the particular commission would have been costly and affordable only to wealthy sponsors.[83]

Furthermore, the selected iconography does not only indicate awareness of imperial imagery but also that the social status of the patrons permitted them use of these iconographic allusions to their own ends. Though not surprising, the use of Greek in the inscriptions has its own meaning, given the ecclesiastical dependence of Illyricum on Rome until the eighth century.[84] It is likely that the patrons were members of the local Greek-speaking elite with Constantinopolitan connections that not only allowed them knowledge of artistic tendencies but, more importantly, made them privy to the political agenda of the re-emerging imperial regime and the means used to achieve its objectives. Acting as the local agent for a central political construct presupposes agreement with the supported 'ideology' and, likely, active participation in the regime that generates it. It is not, therefore, presumptuous to suggest that the patrons may have belonged to the elevated social class that apparently developed in post-iconoclastic Dyrrachion with the appointment of archons and other officials that followed the administrative and ecclesiastical elevation of the city.

This is where the operative question lies: why would such distinguished patrons choose to commission their burial and, importantly, the mosaics in a damp and derelict

79 C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and Documents* (New Jersey 1972) 181.

80 Auzépy, 'Manifestations', and R. Cormack, 'Away from the centre: 'provincial' art in the ninth century', in Brubaker (ed.), *Dead or Alive?* 85–99, 151–63.

81 Bowes and Mitchell, 'Main chapel', 593.

82 Miraj, 'Chapel in the amphitheater', 252–6; Bowes and Mitchell, 'Main chapel', 576.

83 Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 181.

84 See note 27.

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necropolis unless they expected them to be duly seen and appreciated by their fellow citizens? Since the site appears to have deteriorated by the Middle Byzantine period, is it not reasonable to assume that other reasons may have rendered it popular and/or appropriate for important patrons, ensuring also that their posthumous messages would not go unnoticed?

Though difficult to answer, these questions are useful. They entail contextual aspects that need to be considered when contemplating the function of the chapel, especially given the amount of lost evidence and unrecorded stratigraphy of earlier excavations.[85] The evidence of the mosaics clearly suggests that, at the time of their commission, the amphitheatre necropolis had become an important centre of religious life and ritual. Importantly, its particular chapel – and by extension the site and the city – appears to have acted as the recipient of and the instrument for the delivery of the central keynote in post-iconoclastic Byzantium: the reinvention and projection of its *romanitas*. This tendency is reminiscent of contemporary artistic practices used to this effect in the capital and apparently coincided with the emergence of St. Asteios in Byzantine hagiographic sources.

This reading agrees with the suggested attempts to project Dyrrachion as part of the post-iconoclastic empire and anchor its Byzantine identity which, at the time, was tantamount to reconfirming the uninterrupted Christian tradition and continuation from late antiquity. To the extent that St. Asteios epitomized the city's Christian past, it is not presumptuous to envisage this effort as somewhat related to him, or rather, to a location – the amphitheatre – that communal memory and tradition still identified with his martyrdom during the Middle Byzantine period.

On this subject, it is worth reviewing the way hagiography has been used to reject the amphitheatre's connection with the saint's death. Lacking concrete material evidence, scholars resorted to the saint's *athlesis* and claimed that no such connection exists as no reference was made to this location in the saint's *passio*. While discussing the burial place of the Dyrrachion saints, Bryer argued that 'the sand' mentioned in the *athlesis* of the Peregrinoi could not have referred to the amphitheatre's arena and concluded – confusingly – that Asteios was not buried there.[86]

If indeed hagiography is to be used as historical evidence, then I would have to disagree with this point. Firstly, 'the sand' is not mentioned in St. Asteios' *athlesis* and therefore, this argument is irrelevant to the saint's burial. His *passio* specifically mentions that he was '...left on a cross by the city walls...' to die.[87] Moreover, the *athlesis* of the Peregrinoi relates that '...as they entered [the gate of] the city, they saw St. Asteios on a cross...'.[88] Both accounts clarify that St. Asteios was left to die by the city walls, at a point that was readily visible from the gate. Remarkably, the Dyrrachion amphitheatre

85 Bowes and Mitchell, 'Main chapel', 576.

86 Bryer, 'Saint Asteios', 44; Bowes and Mitchell, 'Main chapel', 593–4.

87 See note 1.

88 See note 2.

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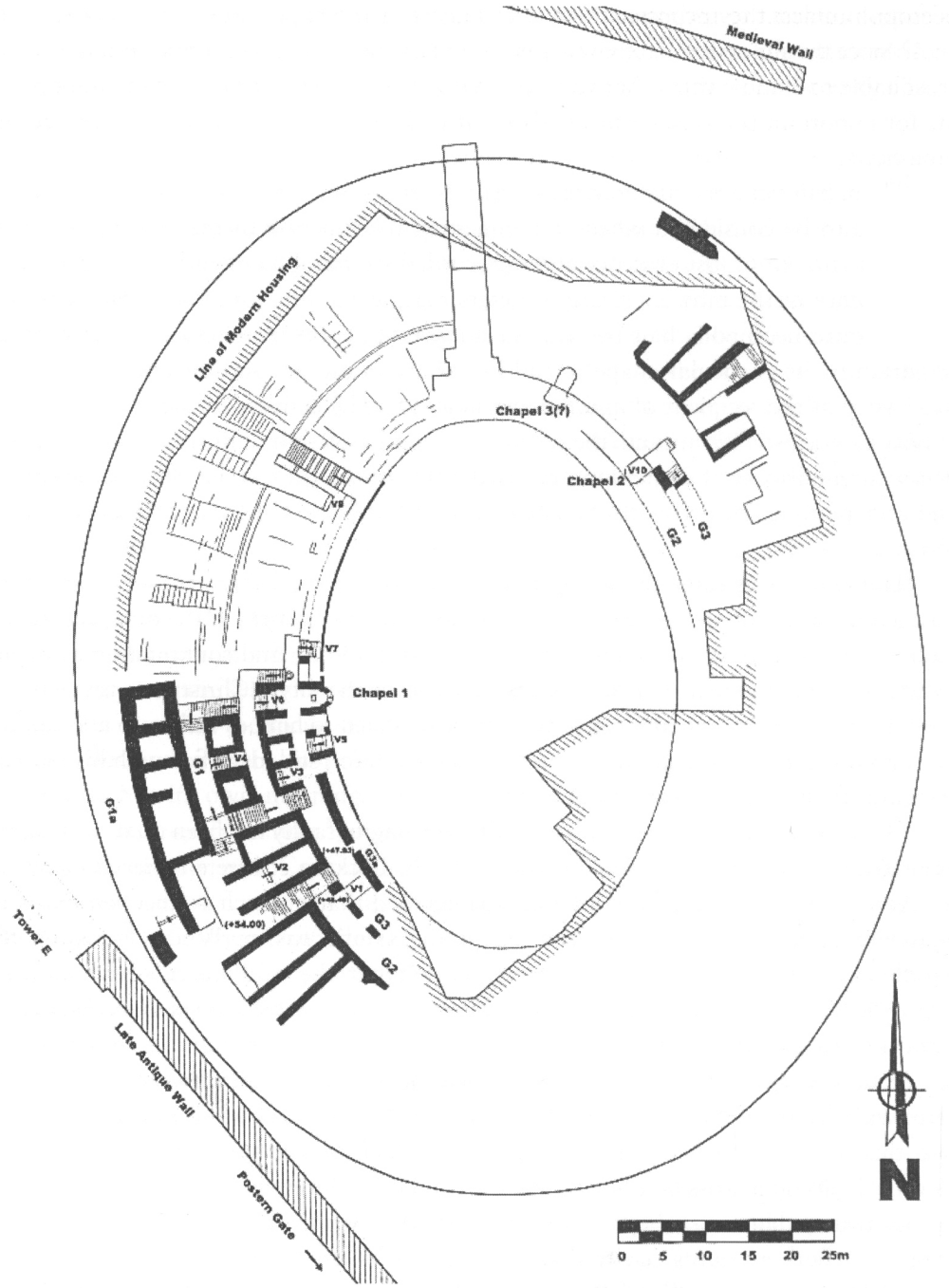


Fig. 4. Durrës amphitheatre, plan [K. Bowes et al., 'An amphitheatre and its afterlives: survey and excavation in the Durres amphitheatre', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003) 383, fig.4].

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is almost adjacent to the late antique walls and to the left of the city gate (Fig. 4).[89] Its south-west section, where the chapel is located, is almost on the juncture point of the building with the walls. Why, then, was the amphitheatre not mentioned in St. Asteios' *athlesis* as the case is with the *athlesis* of St. Domnios of Salona? Perhaps because, at the time of St. Asteios' death, the amphitheatre had not yet been built.[90]

Thus, hagiography suggests that the location where the amphitheatre was erected was linked with St. Asteios' death and could have had a 'symbolic' significance for the community of Dyrrachion and those wishing to address the locals. For this reason, it could have been used for the saint's commemoration as Bryer argued, albeit at a later stage. The latest discoveries actually affect the chapel's date rather than its function.

The church of the Saviour at Rubik

The church of the Saviour at Rubik offers further insight into the emblematic capacity of St. Asteios. Its apse contains the only surviving painting programme from the medieval territories of central Albania. The conch features the Deesis, the Communion of the Apostles and Church Fathers, while the Annunciation occupies the face of the triumphal arch (Fig. 5). It was published in the 1960s and has not been discussed until recently.[91] It was considered a Latin commission dated to 1272, the year given by the Latin dedicatory inscription. This conclusion was reached because of the western elements of the – otherwise doctrinally Byzantine – programme: the Latin inscriptions, the three Latin church fathers painted amongst the Orthodox hierarchs, the portrait of a Latin abbot on the conch accompanied by the dedicatory inscription.[92] The apse preserves the only extant portrait of St Asteios locally, albeit in a badly degenerated condition. He is depicted amongst Orthodox and Latin church hierarchs on the lower register and indentified by inscription (Fig. 6a). The recently uncovered lower part of his image shows that he was portrayed as an Orthodox saint (Fig. 6b). Previous studies on St. Asteios only mention the portrait in passing. They reiterate the accepted date – and ensuing misconceptions – without further analysis or interpretation. My recent study revisits long-standing misinterpretations and sheds new light on the history, date and iconography of the church and the reasons behind the selection of St. Asteios for the apse programme.[93] Some of its conclusions regarding the iconographic phases, the aspirations

89 The late antique walls follow the line of the pre-imperial and imperial defences: Gutteridge, 'Cultural geographies', 20–1.

90 It was probably built in the second or third century: Bowes et al., 'Durres amphitheatre', 387–8.

91 The study of the church was part of my PhD dissertation: A. Christidou, *Unknown Byzantine Art in the Balkan Area: Art, Power and Patronage in Twelfth to Fourteenth-Century Churches in Albania*, PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art (London 2011) (under publication). A detailed presentation of this study falls outside the scope of this article.

92 Dh. Dhamo, 'Piktura e vjetër murale e kishës së Rubikut dhe datimi i saj i ri', *Studime Historike* 18/2 (1964) 87–96.

93 See note 91.

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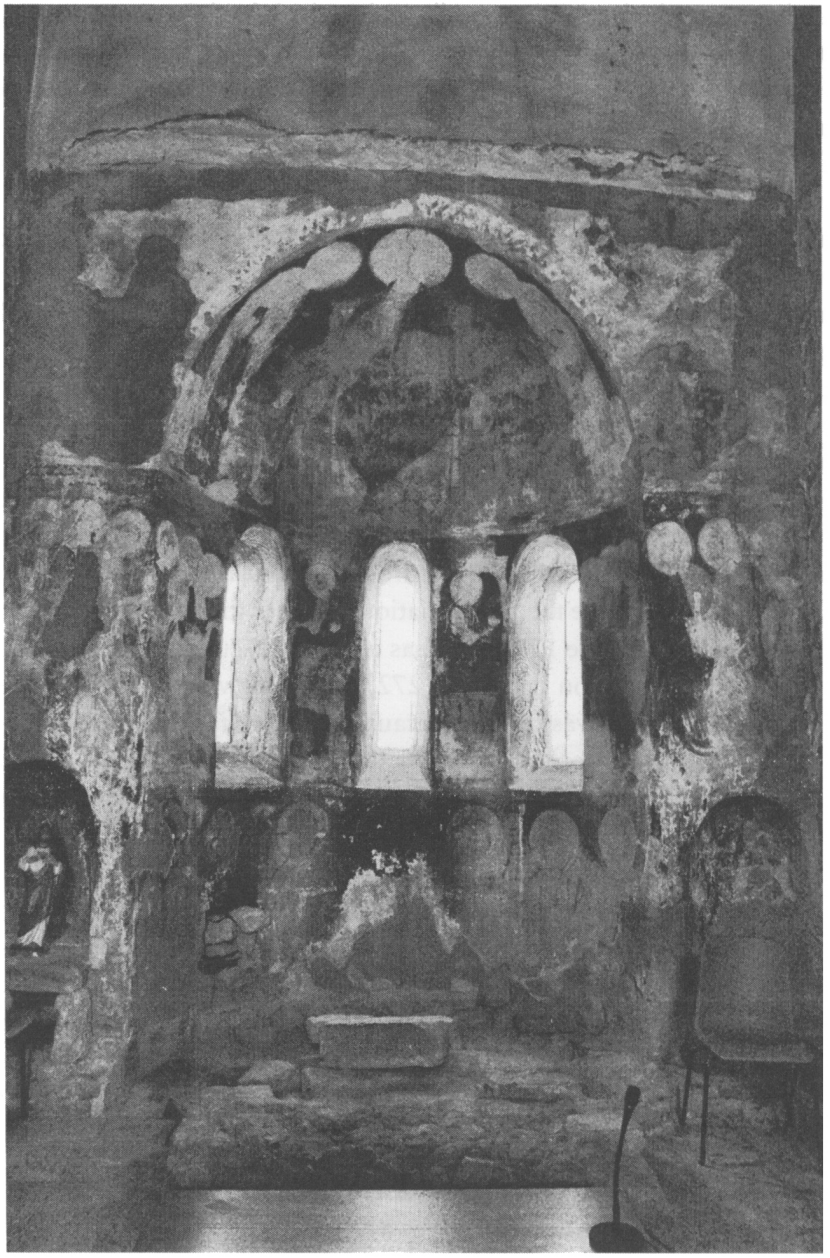


Fig. 5. Rubik, church of the Saviour, east wall, iconographic programme.

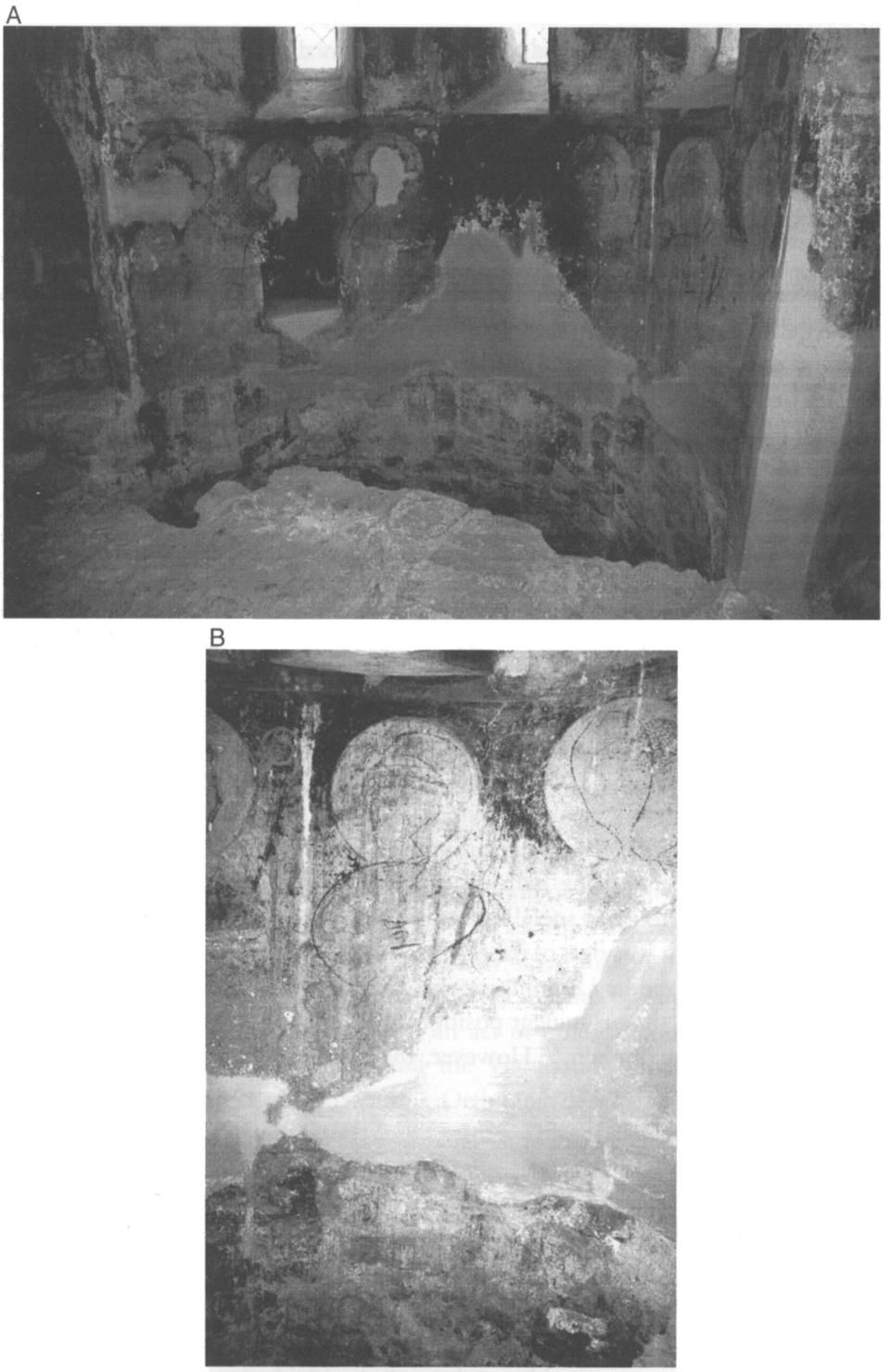


Fig. 6 (a) Rubik, church of the Saviour, apse, lower register, Orthodox and Latin bishops: (b) Rubik, church of the Saviour, apse, lower register, Saint Asteios.

of the patrons and the ways in which St. Asteios' image acted to uphold different socio-political agendas at different periods are useful for this discussion.

The apse iconography is actually the product of two decorative phases. The main compositions are part of the initial programme, commissioned when the church was first built. Based on artistic and contextual analysis, I dated this phase between 1160 and 1166, the year when the church first appears in textual sources.[94] Its construction is seen in the context of the increased Byzantine presence and patronage in the broader region during the Comnenian period. At the time, the area of Rubik was subordinate to the metropolis of Dyrrachion. However, intense pressure was exerted by local pro-Latin quarters who worked towards the secession of the local see (Arbëria) from Dyrrachion and its subordination to the Latin archbishopric of Antivaris (mod. Bar, Montenegro).[95] Through the commission of the decoration, its Byzantine patrons – possibly members of local Orthodox circles – also aimed to respond to the secessionist movement by making the Byzantine presence felt.

The year 1272 marks the restoration of the church after its attack and partial destruction in 1258 by the army of Manfred of Sicily, the then ruler of Dyrrachion and Arbëria.[96] Having become a significant centre for the Latins in the thirteenth century, the church probably fell victim to Manfred's anti-papal wrath. His death at the battle of Benevento in 1266 paved the way for the rule of pro-papal Charles I of Anjou who was proclaimed king of Albania in 1272. During the restoration, the apse programme was repaired and western iconographic elements were added. The portrait of Innocent, the church's Latin abbot and patron, was inserted in the conch. Contextual analysis of the iconographic additions suggests that the restoration acted as a statement of supplanting, signifying the establishment of Latin and papal rule in the area. Nonetheless, the decision to retain the Byzantine programme verifies the strong Orthodox element that still resided locally and the patron's ambition to project religious tolerance and co-existence, probably to avert social instability and unrest.

St. Asteios' portrait was part of the first programme and was retained during the restoration, when it received its Latin inscription. His topicality and celebration as a local martyr-bishop justifies the prominent position of his portrait. Visual emphasis on local saint-patrons is not uncommon.[97] However, the decision to opt for the projection of

94 *AA*, 31, no.93. The document records the presence of the bishop of Arbëria and the abbot of the Saviour's church at the inauguration of the apse of St. Tryphon's church at Kotor (modern Montenegro).

95 The subordination of Arbëria to Antivaris eventually materialized in 1199: *AA*, 39, no. 120.

96 The attack was recorded in a now lost inscription transcribed by Benedict Orsini, the bishop of Alessio in 1621: F.S.J. Cordignano, 'Geografia ecclesiastica dell'Albania. Dagli ultimi decenni del secolo XVI alla metà del secolo XVII,' *OCP* 36 (Rome 1934) 276.

97 Such portraits are found close to the iconostasis or on the conch of the apse: S.E.J. Gerstel, 'An alternative view of the late Byzantine sanctuary screen', in *idem* (ed.), *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West* (Washington D.C. 2006) 135–62; N. Kontogiannis and S. Germanidou, 'The iconographic program of the Prophet Elijah church in Thalames, Greece', *BZ* 101/1 (2008) 58–9, notes 15–20.

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topicality is tightly linked with the individual aspirations of the Byzantine and Latin patrons that sanctioned it. The specific circumstances of the two commissions provide an insight into the multiple functionality of the saint's image. For the Byzantine patrons, it appears to have acted additionally as a reminder of the ecclesiastical and administrative association of Rubik with Dyrrachion. Given the saint's significance as the local emblem of early Christianity, they probably also hoped that his visual reference would achieve the much-desired unity of the local population on the basis of communal pride.

In St. Asteios' portrait the Latin patron of the restoration probably found the common ideological platform that would ensure religious and social harmony. As a church official, Innocent may have also envisaged himself paralleled with – and projected as – the model of the ideal Christian bishop that the saint's image signified for the locals.

Epilogue: the saint and his city

Instead of the long debated connection between St. Asteios and the amphitheatre of Dyrrachion, this article focused on underlying facets of his tradition. Not only did his local significance and popularity strengthen with time, it appears to have been the subject of a dynamic process which transformed a local cult to a tradition of wider recognition. This transition started with St. Asteios' integration into the Byzantine ecclesiastic ritual through the compilation of his liturgy in the ninth century. It continued with incorporation into the official doctrine through references in the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion*.

The dates and imperial association of these texts provide grounds to view this process as reflecting an attempt at cultural assimilation, whereby the re-empowered imperial centre wished to reaffirm its authority over a crucial province. This is only articulated through hagiography. Further promotion or popularity of the saint's veneration in the capital is not otherwise attested. This example shows that hagiography as a means of promoting a saint did not necessarily serve the promotion of the cult.[98] It also reinforces the impression that the interest in St. Asteios by imperial circles responded to secular rather than spiritual concerns, an act of political convenience reflecting the growing significance of Dyrrachion and the Via Egnatia in Byzantine affairs. This would serve the construct of a Byzantine Orthodox *oecumene* central in establishing imperial supremacy in the ninth and tenth century. The act of encompassing a peripheral tradition was a means of absorbing the region further into Byzantium and anchoring the local populations to the Byzantine identity.

In contrast to the capital, the evidence from medieval Dyrrachion shows that St. Asteios' tradition and veneration were an active part of religious life while his imagery provided a visual reference for the locals. The function of his portrait at the church at Rubik manifests the extent of his visual identification with his city and, importantly, the way this was used by both Byzantine and Latin patrons. It demonstrates that

98 Euthymiadis, 'New developments', 169.

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the semantic significance of St. Asteios did not remain a literary *topos* but had a direct effect on its audiences.

Interestingly, the saint's function as signifier of cultural space was exploited through art in neighbouring areas where patrons had an interest in projecting their affiliation with Dyrrachion and where people were closer and apparently more familiar with the city and his saint. This is demonstrated by the inclusion of his portrait in churches of medieval Ohrid and Serbia. Grozdanov actually linked the saint's representation in prominent positions at the churches of St. Clement at Ohrid (1294–5), St. George at Staro Nagoričino (1316–18), the Dormition of the Virgin at Gračanica (1318–21) and St. Niketas at Čučer (before 1316) with a 'didactic' intention by the artists Michael and Eutychios Astrapas to whom the decorations are attributed.[99] This view presupposes a considerable degree of creative initiative by the artists and may appear plausible given the wide popularity and prominent clientele of the Astrapas painters in the region.[100] However, it takes little notice of the patrons, whose importance and likely active involvement in the selection of the painting programme should not be disregarded.

Gozdanov also notes, rightly, that the prominent position of St. Asteios' portrait at St. Clement of Ohrid may also be associated with Progon Sgouros, the commissioning patron originating from Dyrrachion, and with the intention to highlight visually the close ecclesiastical ties between Dyrrachion and Ohrid.[101]

Equally pronounced personal statements of a different type may underlie the decision to include St. Asteios' image in the three churches from medieval Serbia. Their patronage is linked with Milutin, the Serbian king who took Dyrrachion from the Byzantines in 1296. Considering the strong political involvement and statements entailed in these commissions, it is logical to view the visual emphasis on the saints of Dyrrachion (St. Isauros is also represented) as an indication of Milutin's claims to the region.[102]

Essentially, St. Asteios and Dyrrachion are tied to a similar destiny. Just as historical contexts largely determined the cultural geography of the city, they also affected the ways in which its saint-patron was perceived and exploited through hagiography and art by those who aspired, through him, to lay claim to the city. Ultimately, in arguing that the course and function of St. Asteios' tradition in the ninth and tenth century were also symptomatic of socio-political and practical realities, this discussion raised the

99 Grozdanov, 'St. Astios', 85–7.

100 S. Kalopissi-Verti, 'Οἱ ζωγράφοι στὴν ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν επιγραφῶν', in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Τὸ Πορτραῖτο τοῦ Καλλιτέχνη στὴν Ὕστερη Βυζαντινὴ Κοινωνία* (Heraklion 1999) 122, note 1 (including bibliography); B. Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin* (Belgrade 1999) esp. 227–62; *idem*, 'Signatures des peintres Michel Astrapas et Eutychios. Fonction et signification', in *Αφιέρωμα Κίσσα* 643–62; M. Marković, 'Michael's and Eutychios' artistic work. Present knowledge, dubious issues and direction of future research', *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 17/2 (2004) 95–113.

101 Grozdanov, 'St Asteios', 85–6.

102 Emphasized also by the imperial portraits of Milutin and Simonis at Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica: Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting*, 55–7.

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intricate association between temporal and ecclesiastical politics as well as the pragmatic rationale that may underlie the development of non-secular practices. It also confirmed that more often than not 'the history of saints is actually the study of their clientele.'[103]

103 S. Hackel, *The Byzantine Saint* (London 1981) 3.

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Separation and conflict: Syriac Jacobites and Syriac Catholics in Mardin in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

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From the sixteenth century onwards, the Syriac Jacobites living in the Ottoman empire were confronted by the propaganda of Catholic missionaries. As a result of this propaganda, a Syriac Catholic patriarchate was established in the late eighteenth century, and the Syriac community was divided into two. A merciless conflict ensued between Orthodox Syriacs, aligned with the main Church, and the Catholic Syriacs. While this conflict occurred in all places where Syriacs lived, it was most intense in the city of Mardin, the location of the patriarchal centre of Syriac Jacobites. The Jacobites struggled to prevent both the Catholicization of their community, and also the Catholic takeover of their churches, monasteries and cemeteries. At various times and for various reasons, the Ottoman empire and certain European states felt the need to intervene in this conflict. Continuing almost uninterrupted throughout the nineteenth century, this conflict adversely affected the Syriacs, and also precipitated their modernization.

Introduction

The 'Jacobite' or Syrian Orthodox Church came into existence in the middle of the sixth century when the monk Jacob Baradaeus established a Monophysite Church with its own hierarchy alongside the official Chalcedonian Church.[1] In the seventh century, Muslims took control of the region where the Syriac Jacobites lived.[2] Relations between Muslim rulers and their Christian subjects were generally good, with Christians continuing to serve in the bureaucracy and influencing Muslim intellectual currents, and in the twelfth century the Syriac Jacobites even experienced a cultural and religious

1 A. S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London 1968) 175–84; V. Arthur, 'The origin of the Monophysite Church in Syria Mesopotamia', *Church History* 42 (1973) 19–25; see also: R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987).

2 Syriac Jacobites lived at the time and continue to live in a region centred in Upper Mesopotamia, encompassing parts of the modern countries of Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. Important cities included Mardin and Diyarbekir in southeastern Turkey, Aleppo in Syria, and Mosul in northern Iraq.

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'renaissance'.[3] However, the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century led to a decline in the region, and as a result the Syriac Church became a closed community. It was at this time, in the year 1293, that the Syriac patriarch moved his see to the monastery of Deyruzzafaran, near Mardin, because Syriac Christians lived in particularly high concentrations in this region.[4] With the Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century, the Syriac Church entered a new phase in its history because it came to be incorporated into the Ottoman system for non-Muslim affairs, the *millet* system.

The *millet* system

Despite current debates regarding its precise definition,[5] the *millet* system refers generally to the Ottoman state system that recognized autonomy for non-Muslim communities in religious, cultural, juridical and educational affairs. It has its roots in the *dhimma* status which in Islamic law recognized non-Muslim 'People of the Book' (including Christians and Jews), organized their relations under Islamic rule, and provided certain guarantees for the observance of their beliefs.

When the Ottoman State was first founded, its relations with its non-Muslim population were organized in accordance with the *dhimma* status. During the reign of Mehmed II who conquered Constantinople in 1453 certain modifications were made, resulting in the *millet* system. According to this system, non-Muslims were grouped primarily by religion, but secondarily by region and language, and were tied to the Ottoman political-administrative system as members of *millet*s whose administrative centres were in Istanbul (Constantinople). Sultan Mehmed wanted his newly conquered capital to be the focal point in every respect, and this included making Istanbul the administrative centre for all Christians living within Ottoman borders. Before the conquest, the only patriarchate in the Byzantine capital was Greek Orthodox, which did not represent all Christian communities. In order for the large Armenian population to be represented, Mehmed established an Armenian patriarchate and appointed the bishop of Bursa as patriarch in 1461. Thus, all Christians within Ottoman borders could be governed from Istanbul through these two patriarchs.[6]

Under the *millet* system that appeared during the reign of Mehmed II, the possibility of establishing an order in accordance with its own customs was given to each community, which was free to organize all its own religious and internal affairs. While the Churches were able to avail themselves of these freedoms, their involvement in politics was forbidden. Conversely, the State could not interfere in the communities' religious affairs. However, since religious leaders had administrative responsibilities at the same time, the state could intervene in their elections. Each community could elect its patriarch

3 For an overview see P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance. Idee und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin 1960).

4 G. Akyüz, *Deyruzzafaran Manastırının Tarihi* (Mardin 1997) 35–6.

5 For these debates see: B. Braude, 'Foundation myths of the millet system', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York 1982).

6 İ. Özcoşar, *Bir Yüzyıl Bir Sancak Bir Cemaat 19. Yüzyılda Mardin Süryanileri* (Istanbul 2008) 53.

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and synod, and submit its choice to the state for approval. With the sultan's confirmation, the patriarch could begin his duties. The synod, with the patriarch at its head, would be concerned with all the community's issues. Civil matters, such as marriage, divorce and inheritance, were organized and administered through the community's own religious and juridical system. Certain minor cases would be heard in courts established within the Church and according to ecclesiastical laws, and sentences would then be carried out in their name by the Ottoman state.[7]

The situation of the Syriac Jacobite Church in the Ottoman empire

The region inhabited by Syriac Jacobites fell under Ottoman rule in 1516, about fifty years after the formation of the *millet* system. However, the Syriac Jacobites were not represented as an independent community within the *millet* system of the classical administrative structure of the Ottoman empire. The most important reason for this was that the Syriac Jacobites did not have representatives in Istanbul, since they had neither a community nor a Church organization in the capital. Consequently, they had to be represented by either the Greek Orthodox or the Gregorian Armenian patriarchate. All the official sources show that the Syriac Jacobites were represented by the Gregorian Armenian Patriarchate, and it was through this institution that their contact with the Ottoman capital and bureaucracy was mediated.[8] The Ottoman sources do not reveal why Syriac affairs were handled through the Armenian, and not the Greek Orthodox, Patriarchate. However, the reason was undoubtedly that both the Syriac Jacobites and the Gregorian Armenians were Monophysites rejecting the council of Chalcedon.[9]

Nevertheless, this did not mean that the Syriac Church was dependent on the Armenian patriarchate in every respect. The Syriacs were completely independent in terms of internal affairs, within their own Church hierarchy. However, they could not communicate directly in their relations with the Ottoman capital; official correspondence on matters related to the Syriacs had to pass through the Armenian patriarchate. This was most evident in patriarchal elections. While Syriacs selected their patriarch within their own Church hierarchy and rules, approval from Istanbul came through the Armenian patriarchate. In 1826, for example, when a *ferman* (decree) was issued approving patriarch Gevergis, the reason for issuing the *ferman* was stated as: (this *ferman* has been issued upon) 'the petition made by the patriarch and synod of the Armenians of Istanbul ... .'[10] This dependence, adhered to in relations with the capital, was less strictly applied regarding local administrators, and Syriacs could generally be represented directly by their own communal representatives without mediation by Armenians.

7 B. Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslim Tebaanın Yönetimi* (İstanbul 1996) 18–20.

8 Özcoşar, *Mardin Süryanileri*, 52–62.

9 İ. Ortaylı, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Millet Sistemi', *Türkler* 10 (Ankara 2002) 218.

10 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry, hereafter cited as B.O.A.), '998 Numaralı Divân-ı Hümayûn Defterleri Kataloğu' Gayr-i Müslim Cemaatlere Ait 10 No'lu Defter 1277-1324, 71.

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Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman empire

Shortly before Constantinople was captured by the Ottomans, the most important issue in relations between Byzantium and the Europeans was the unification of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. After Sultan Mehmed II conquered Istanbul, he firmly sought to hinder attempts to unify these two Churches, for strategic reasons. Thus he appointed an opponent of unification, Gennadios II, as patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church.[11] A process began with this policy of the sultan which complicated the lives of the few Catholics living in Istanbul, as well as the Catholic missionaries within Ottoman borders. This policy continued under the next two sultans, with slight modifications according to the changing relations with Catholic European states. While the papacy and Catholic Orders continued to seek the establishment of relations with Orthodox Christians in the east, they began to find a more accepting environment during the reign of sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66).

In order to use the conflict between France and the Habsburgs to the Ottomans' advantage and deepen the divisions between European states, sultan Suleiman supported France, the weaker state, against the Habsburgs. Developing relations between the Ottomans and France began the process through which France became the protector of all Catholics within Ottoman borders. In 1534 the first official French ambassador, Jean de la Forêt, travelled to Istanbul, and within one year succeeded in signing a capitulation agreement that not only granted certain commercial privileges to France, but also indirectly secured French protection for Catholics within Ottoman borders.[12] According to this agreement, 'Merchants, agents, delegates, and all others servants of the king would not be molested or judged by Muslim officials and would enjoy freedom of worship.'[13] With this agreement, renewed at various times, most importantly in 1569, priests who were to serve Catholic Christians could be sent to Ottoman lands.[14]

As a result, Catholic missionary activity was facilitated within the Ottoman empire. The priests, who according to the agreement could come for the purpose of serving the existing Catholic population, did not confine themselves to this duty alone, but began striving intensely to ally Orthodox Christians with the pope. With this aim in mind, Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans began to organize missions within the Ottoman realm.[15] Catholic missionaries' activities aimed at Orthodox Christians, such as opening churches and schools, troubled both the communities and the Ottoman authorities, but when challeged they could rely on France to intervene.

11 S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity. A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge 1985) 168.

12 For capitulations see: Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and the Beratlıs in the 18th Century* (Leiden 2005).

13 C. A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: the Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (New York 1983) 28.

14 Ibid., 24–69.

15 Ibid., 73–7.

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The confrontation between Syriac Jacobites and the Catholics

It was also in the sixteenth century when the areas where Syriacs lived came under Ottoman control, and that Catholic missionaries began to operate in the area, specifically focusing on Eastern Christians. The earliest Syriac contact with the pope and Catholics was recorded in 1555, when the Syriac patriarch Abdullah sent one of his own students, the priest Musa of Savur, to Rome with a manuscript of the Syriac Bible for printing. According to Syriac sources, Musa also took letters of recommendation to give to the pope, although we do not know what these letters contained.[16] Western sources note that Musa met with the pope and accepted Catholicism. The Syriac Bible was printed with the patronage of Ferdinand of the House of Habsburg.[17]

After Abdullah, Ni'matallah was chosen as patriarch (1557–75); in terms of the complexity of relations between Syriac Jacobites and Catholics this was an interesting period. Problems had started within the community during Abdullah's patriarchate, and as a result Abdullah had moved to the church of the Virgin Mary in Diyarbekir. We can see from the Syriac sources that the main reason for the problems was the desire of Syriac laymen to intervene in the Church hierarchy. The problems must have continued, because Ni'matallah also preferred to remain in Diyarbekir. An important sign that problems increased during Ni'matallah's patriarchate is that a decision was taken to prevent laymen from convening a council in order to intervene in Church affairs. This decision was not sufficient to settle the matter, and in the process Ni'matallah converted and announced before the Ottoman pasha in Diyarbekir that he had become Muslim. Syriac sources suggest that the reason for his conversion was Muslim pressure, but according to Western missionaries coming to the region in this period, it was because of problems within the community. While Syriac sources state that the patriarch later recanted and returned to his former religion, Western sources indicate that he became Catholic, escaped to Rome and found refuge with the pope. In this period, Leonardo Abel of Malta, pope Gregory XIII's representative to the Eastern Churches, met with Ni'matallah in Rome and received information about the Syriacs before going to the east. The information Ni'matallah provided must have led the pope to think that the Syriacs would align themselves with him. Thus, when Abel arrived in Diyarbekir and sought to meet the new patriarch, in his bag he carried a robe to give to the patriarch as a sign of his subjection to the pope.[18]

After Ni'matallah, his brother David Shah was chosen as patriarch (1576–91). Although David Shah continued trying to resolve the problems within the community, he was not successful. Consequently, he did not agree to meet with Abel in Diyarbekir. Relying on information given by Abel, conflicting views exist on the reasons for the meeting not taking place according to Syriac and Western sources. According to the

16 H. Dolabani, *Antakya Süryani Kadim (Ortodoks) Kilisesi Patriklerinin Özgeçmişi*, trans. G. Akyüz (from Syriac to Turkish), (Istanbul 2006) 142–3.

17 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 61–2.

18 Dolabani, *Patriklerinin Özgeçmişi*, 143–4. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 74–8.

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Syriac sources it was due to the objections of Muslims and Ottoman officials, whereas the Western sources claim it was because of problems within the community, in particular the lay leaders' fear that a meeting with the pope's representative would lead to the conversion of the community. While the patriarch was not prepared to meet Abel personally, he did send a representative, the priest Abdunnur, who met Abel in a monastery. According to Abel, this meeting involved a discussion of certain matters of faith, and ended without an agreement.[19]

After the death of David Shah, problems within the community continued, and between 1597 and 1640, there were simultaneously three claimants to the patriarchate.[20] At the same time, although direct relations with the pope had ceased, the community was forced to deal with the activities of Catholic missionaries based in Aleppo. François Picquet, who was appointed consul of Aleppo in 1652, began work immediately, promising French protection and support to all Christians who joined with Rome. Picquet saw the Syriac Jacobites, weakened because of the problems mentioned above, as the community most susceptible to missionary activities, and thus worked towards influencing them. Finding a Syriac priest named Akhijan who had accepted Catholicism, he arranged for the Maronite patriarch to ordain Akhijan as a bishop, and pursued official Ottoman channels to have him recognized officially as Syriac Catholic patriarch. While French sources mention an imperial diploma issued by the Ottomans recognizing this appointment, it seems unlikely, because in the seventeenth century the Ottoman State had not yet officially acknowledged communities changing their sects.[21] Existing laws did not allow this, and Ottoman foreign policy would not accept Orthodox citizens converting to Catholicism and thus entering French patronage. The Syriac interpretation of the Akhijan incident is that the French consulate sought to have him recognized as bishop of Aleppo, applying pressure on the patriarch of the time, Hbed Mişoha (1661–86), but the patriarch refused.[22]

Until the seventeenth century, Syriac patriarchs had to deal not only with the problems of laymen interfering in Church affairs and struggles over the patriarchate, but also with Catholics based in Aleppo. In the eighteenth century inner-communal problems appear to have decreased; the Syriac patriarchs were at least able to move back to the patriarchal centre in Mardin, and problems with the lay community were largely resolved. However, with the return of the patriarchal centre to Mardin, Syriacs now had to face the activities of missionaries based in Mosul, who were also administered by the pope's representatives and were patronized by the French consuls.[23]

19 Dolabani, *Patriklerinin Özgeçmişi*, 143–4; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 75.

20 Dolabani, *Patriklerinin Özgeçmişi*, 145–6.

21 Despite extensive archival research, I have been unable to locate such a document.

22 Dolabani, *Patriklerinin Özgeçmişi*, 148.

23 H. Aboona, 'How and when Catholicism was imposed on National Churches of Mesopotamia', accessed 15 June 2011, http://www.atour.com/education/20010303a.html. On missionary activities in Mosul, see S. D. Shields, *Mosul before Iraq like bees making five-sided cells* (New York 2000) 49.

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Catholic missionary activities in Mardin and the schism

In the seventeenth century, Catholic missionaries based in Mosul were engaged in intensive activities in Mardin, but these were directed mostly towards Armenians. For example, the Capuchins began to work in Mardin in 1630 and succeeded in converting some Armenians to Catholicism. Michel Nau, a Jesuit priest, also worked in Mardin from 1681 until his death in 1683. Dominican priests appear later in Mardin between 1759 and 1779.[24] In fact, the efforts to Catholicize the Armenians in Mardin resulted in almost all the Gregorian Armenians becoming Catholic by the nineteenth century. The Syriacs seem to have been little influenced by these activities, and in fact they reacted strongly against them from the beginning.[25] Their commitment to their Church, as well as their recent experiences, caused them to take a rigid attitude towards the Catholic missionaries, for the Syriac Jacobites had witnessed the Nestorian community, their neighbours, becoming divided because of such activities. Indeed, the Chaldean patriarchate had been established in the sixteenth century as a result of this division.[26] The Armenians, their other neighbours, were also facing similar problems, and consequently the Syriac Jacobites hardened their stance against the Catholic missionaries.

Catholic missionary activities directed towards the Syriac Jacobites were more effective at the end of the eighteenth century. The Catholic missionaries had begun to find ways to move more freely within the Ottoman empire, which was no longer powerful enough to protect the Christians within its realm against Catholic missionary activities. Benefitting from the weakness of the Ottoman empire, France and the papacy sought to impose the idea that, in the words of one present-day commentator, 'If the Syriac Orthodox want to continue to exist as a live witness of their traditions, ... there is no other real option but to join the Catholics.'[27] In fact, the Syriacs were important for both the papacy and France for political reasons, although the weapon and the means of their struggle were theological.[28]

In 1782 the Catholics seized an important opportunity to Catholicize the Syriac Jacobites. After the death of the Syriac Jacobite patriarch Gevargis IV of Mosul in 1781, the Syriacs began the process for an election of the new patriarch. The election period was difficult because debates became fractious. Furthermore, at this election, a conflict arose between Michael Jarweh, the metropolitan of Aleppo, and Matay, the

24 S. Aydın, 'Anadolu'da Hıristiyanlığın Dönüşüm Faaliyetlerinin Doğu Hıristiyanlığı Üzerindeki Etkisi ve Modernleşme' (paper presented at the *Uluslararası Anadolu İnançları Kongresi*, Nevşehir, Turkey, 25–28 October 2000) 77–8.

25 V. A. Çerme, 'Ermeni Katolik Kilisesi'nin Kurucularından Melkon Tazbazyan'ın Hayatı (1654-1716)', *Tarih ve Toplum* 184 (1999) 37–43.

26 Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, 212-18; K. Albayrak, *Keldanîler ve Nasturîler* (Ankara 1997) 104–15.

27 E. R. Hambye SJ, 'Doğu Süryani Hıristiyanlığı'nın Dünü Bugünü Yaşam Mücadelesi ve Yeniden Doğuşu', in J. Moliter (ed.), *Kildaniler ve Doğu Süryani Kilisesi*, trans. E. Sever (Istanbul 2004) 77.

28 B. Nelhans, *Asuri Arami Kildani, Süryani Adlandırmalarının Dünü Bugünü Üzerine* (Södertälje 1990) 47.

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metropolitan of Mosul, in 1782. Usually the process included the participation of all bishops, and the Holy Synod was convened for the election of the patriarch. The bishops then elected one of themselves to be patriarch after a series of lengthy discussions. In the 1782 election, Michael Jarweh was elected as patriarch by the bishops who supported him, without waiting for the arrival of other bishops. Consequently, metropolitan Matay and other bishops objected to this election. Metropolitan Matay, who was supported especially by the bishops of Tur Abdin,[29] called for another election by assembling a new synod in the church of Mar Yuhanon in Qeleth. At its conclusion, metropolitan Matay was elected as patriarch. An important part of the election process was also to secure the confirmation of the Ottoman authorities. Matay and his supporters managed to receive a *ferman* from the State ratifying the patriarchate of Matay.[30]

Michael Jarweh, who was not recognized as patriarch, made contact with the Catholic missionaries in Syria. Seizing this opportunity, the pope nominated Michael Jarweh as the Syriac Catholic patriarch over the Syriacs who had separated from the Church of the Syriac Jacobites for various reasons. The patriarchate of the Syriac Catholic Church was thus established.[31] Syriac Jacobite sources suggest that Michael Jarweh was already a Catholic before the election took place, although if so he did not proclaim it.[32] After this schism, the Syriac Jacobites began to refer to their Church as 'Syriac Ancient' (*Suryoye Kadmoye*), both to distinguish themselves from the Syriac Catholics and to emphasize that they were in fact older than their recent rival.[33]

The official recognition of the schism by the Ottoman empire

The activities of the Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman empire generated a variety of problems for both the Eastern Christian communities and the empire itself. While the communities which were exposed to Catholic missionary propaganda developed strategies to protect themselves, the new Catholic community undertook activities in order to gain legitimacy from the State. These activities resulted in the official recognition of Catholicism by the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth century. This occurred independently of the Syriacs, but also led to the official recognition of the Syriac Catholic patriarchate which appeared after the division of the Syriac Church. This official recognition by the Ottoman empire was prompted by concern regarding the struggles between the Gregorian Armenians and the Catholic Armenians during the reign of Mahmud II (1808–39). During this period, Catholic propaganda aimed at the Gregorian Armenians resulted in discord in the Armenian community.

29 The mountainous region east of Mardin, where numerous Syriac monasteries are located. In Ottoman sources it was referred to as Jebel-i Tur.

30 Dolabani, *Patriklerinin Özgeçmişi*, 162–4.

31 See Y. Ercan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda Bazı Sorunlar ve Günümüze Yansımaları* (Ankara 2002) 14–15.

32 Dolabani, *Patriklerinin Özgeçmişi*, 163.

33 A. Günel, *Türk Süryanileri Tarihi*, 35.

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The Gregorian Armenians took drastic measures against the Catholic movement to the point of a blood feud, but the Catholics tried to overcome this resistance by appealing to European countries, especially France. An acute problem arose, since the classic Ottoman social structure was being eroded by the conflicts among Christian communities and between these communities and the Ottoman State, which in turn led to tension with European states.[34] For the Ottomans a resolution was urgently needed.

The problem was ultimately resolved by the recognition of the Armenian Catholics as a *millet* (confessional community) in 1829, followed by the official recognition of the Armenian Catholic patriarchate with a *ferman* issued in 1831. Additionally, the Maronite Catholics and the Greek Catholics were aligned with this patriarchate,[35] followed by the Chaldean and the Syriac Catholics. The problems between the Gregorian Armenians and the Catholic Armenians during the process of official recognition of Catholics in the Ottoman empire were replicated between the Syriac Jacobites and the Syriac Catholics.

Although the Ottoman government officially recognized Catholicism and established a Catholic Patriarchate, the schism among the Syriacs had not yet been recognized. This was the most serious obstacle for the resolution of the problems. In 1835, the Syriac Jacobites presented a petition (*ariza*) in which they asked the Syriac Catholics not to intervene in the Syriac Jacobite community in any way. In the same year, the Syriac Catholic plenipotentiary also presented a petition in which they asked the State to recognize them as a community distinct from the Syriac Jacobites. Faced with these two petitions, the State was obliged to engage with the problem originating from the separation of the Syriac Jacobites and the Syriac Catholics. The result was that the Ottoman empire issued a *ferman* officially recognizing two separate Syriac communities. In the words of the decree: 'The Syriac *millet* from the people of my exalted State, living in Diyarbekir, Jebel-i Tur, Mardin, Mosul, Baghdad, Aleppo, and Damascus are separated into two groups. The first one is called Syriac Jacobites. The other one is called just Syriac.' Thus, the Syriacs were officially divided into two groups, the Orthodox Syriacs, who were called 'Syriac Jacobites', and Syriac Catholics, who were called only 'Syriacs'.[36] The *ferman* continues: 'The Syriac Jacobites from these two classes headed by the Armenian plenipotentiaries and the Syriacs headed by the Catholic plenipotentiaries are not dependent on each other and they do not have the right to interfere with each other.'[37]

According to this *ferman*, while the Syriac Jacobites' dependency on the Gregorian Armenian patriarchate continued as it had earlier, the Syriac Catholics were dependent on the Catholic plenipotentiary and consequently on the recently-established (Armenian) Catholic patriarchate. However, the problem between these two communities did not

34 T. Çerme, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Misyoner Faaliyetler', *Yaba Edebiyat* (January–February 2004) 10.

35 G. Bozkurt, *Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukukî Durumu (1839-1914)* (Ankara 1996) 42.

36 B.O.A., '998 Numaralı Divân-ı Hümayûn Defterleri Kataloğu' Gayr-i Müslim Cemaatlere Ait 15 No'lu Defter 1251-1329 (hereafter cited as B.O.A. GM 15).

37 B.O.A., GM 15.

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end, and the state felt the need to intervene further in the conflicts and to emphasize frequently that the Syriac Jacobites were dependent on the Gregorian Armenian patriarchate and the Syriac Catholics were reliant on the Catholic patriarchate.[38]

The conflict after the schism

In the nineteenth century, the most important problem for the Syriacs in Mardin was the division of the community as a result of the influence of Catholic missionaries and the relentless struggle between the newly emerging Catholic community and the 'ancient' community. The problem between these two communities was experienced in Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, and Rakka,[39] but the conflict was most intense in Mardin, the centre of their patriarchate. This conflict, which began with the appointment of Michael Jarweh as the Syriac Catholic patriarch by the pope in 1782, continued to develop, causing the two Syriac communities who had shared the same religion and the same Church for many centuries to harbour hostile feelings towards each other.[40]

Among the local Christian communities, it was the Syriac Jacobites who reacted most strongly to the Catholic missionary activities beginning in the seventeenth century.[41] They referred to the Catholicized Syriacs as *maghlubin*, 'the defeated', since they considered being Catholicized as a betrayal of faith.[42]

The official recognition of Catholics within the administrative system of the Ottoman empire did not solve the problem among the Christian communities. The conflict between the Catholics and the various Orthodox Churches continued throughout the nineteenth century. It is possible to analyse the problems between Syriac Catholics and Syriac Jacobites by focusing on two key issues: conversion, and the sharing of churches and cemeteries.

The conversion of the Orthodox to Catholicism

As mentioned above, the activities of the Catholics against Syriac Jacobites began before the division of the community. The fact that the Catholic missionaries organized themselves in Aleppo and Mosul, where the Syriac Jacobites lived in dense concentrations,[43] suggests that some Syriac Jacobites were already Catholicized before the Michael Jarweh election. Some sources indicate that the Catholic missionaries had begun to be influential

38 Mardin Şer'iye Sicilleri, no: 253, 126. (The court register of Mardin in the Ottoman empire period no: 253, hereafter cited as M.Ş.S.).

39 B.O.A., '998 Numaralı Divân-ı Hümayûn Defterleri Kataloğu' Gayr-i Müslim Cemaatlere Ait 8 No'lu Defter 1251-1329, 27–8.

40 W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia*, II (London 1842) 115.

41 Aboona, 'National churches of Mesopotamia'.

42 Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, 214.

43 Aboona, 'National churches of Mesopotamia'.

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among the Syriacs living in Aleppo since 1762.[44] Michael Jarweh himself, who played a key role in this division, was from Aleppo and should be considered within this context. Moreover, there were already Catholicized Syriacs in Mardin and its environs. Nevertheless, there was not a very dense population of Syriac Catholics at that time.[45] The fact that Syriac Catholics reached a population large enough to constitute a patriarchate soon after the separation cannot be explained only through the participation of Catholicized Syriacs before the division. Possibly the bishops who supported Jarweh during the patriarchate controversy influenced their communities in support of their ideas. The bishops who separated from the Syriac Jacobites together with Jarweh probably convinced some members of their communities in the regions of their episcopacy to join the Catholic Church.

After the division, however, the population of the Syriac Catholic Church gradually increased as a result of the Catholic missionaries' continued activities directed at the Syriacs. It is reported that five Jacobite bishops converted to Catholicism and became affiliated to the Syriac Catholic patriarchate during this process.[46] The division that occurred among the Syriac communities caused the Syriac Jacobites to adopt a defensive attitude against missionary propaganda, and the Syriac Catholics to make efforts to increase the size of their communities. As time passed, the conflicts between the Syriac Jacobites and the Syriac Catholics became part of the broader hostility between Catholics and Orthodox in the Ottoman empire, due to both the *millet* system and to the disputes between the Gregorian Armenians and the Catholic Armenians. On the one hand, the Ottoman empire tried to sustain and protect its *millet* system and, on the other, it sought to avoid confronting its Christian communities and the major European powers that protected them.

Within this broad frame the antagonism between the two communities was exacerbated by conflict between the Gregorian Armenians and the Catholic Armenians centred in Istanbul; at the same time, the Syriac Jacobites and the Syriac Catholics sought power through the support of the Gregorian Armenian patriarchate and the Catholic Armenian patriarchate respectively. Syriac Jacobites often complained to Istanbul through the Armenian patriarchate about those individuals who converted to Catholicism as a result of missionary activities: 'While the Syriacs are of the same religion as the Armenians, the Catholics try to make the Syriacs living in Diyarbekir, Mardin, Mosul, Damascus, Aleppo and Rakka and their surroundings convert to the Catholic religion.'[47] A *ferman* which was sent to the governor of Diyarbekir in May 1839 mentions the previous complaints about the problem; similar complaints were made in June 1819 and in January 1836 and, thereafter, a second *ferman* was proclaimed in order to resolve the conflict, but the complaints were repeated again in June 1837. According to yet

44 Poona, 'Doğu Süryani Hıristiyanlığı', 55.

45 Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, 214.

46 Özcoşar, *Mardin Süryanileri*, 102.

47 M.Ş.S., no: 253 Evahir-i Safer 1255 (May 1839).

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another complaint dated 1839: 'those who had to be punished among the Armenians[48] convert to Catholicism in order to avoid punishment.'[49] In response to this complaint, a further *ferman* was proclaimed, according to which the Ottoman administration stated that it considered conversion from one religion to another to be a destructive factor for its social, administrative and economic structures. Another reason for this aversion to conversion was the evident conflict and disagreement, and ultimately social unrest, it caused among the Christian communities.[50] Additionally, this *ferman* stated that while previous conversions were to be tolerated, further changes would henceforth not be allowed. However, as the same problems were addressed in two further decrees dated August 1840[51] and January 1843,[52] it is clear that conversion could not be prevented.

Another significant problem emerged between the Syriac Jacobites and Syriac Catholics in 1853, when Anton Semheri, metropolitan of the Syriac Catholics of Mardin, was elected as patriarch of the Syriac Catholics after the previous incumbent died in 1851. The new patriarch's first act was to move the centre of the patriarchate from Aleppo to Mardin.[53] This situation would be seen by the Syriac Jacobites as a threat, since having the Catholic patriarchal centre for the Syriacs in Mardin could have attracted more Syriac Jacobites to the Catholic Church. This radicalized the Syriac Jacobites against the Syriac Catholics, so that in 1898 Ephrem II Rahmani, the patriarch of the Syriac Catholics, felt compelled to move the patriarchate to Beirut as a result of the hostile attitude of the Syriac Jacobites.[54]

Conversions by the Syriac Jacobites did not only occur because of Catholic propaganda, but also because of disagreements among members of the community and the desire for power within the community. Parry[55] mentions Mutran Yunus, a Syriac Jacobite metropolitan imprisoned in the monastery of Deyruzzafaran for three years because of a disagreement with the patriarch, because he wished to convert to Catholicism.[56] A similar event occurred in the village of Salah in the vicinity of Midyat in the early

48 Here 'Armenians' includes all Orthodox Christian communities represented by the Armenian patriarchate in Istanbul.

49 According to the *millet* system, the Christian communities had their own internal legal systems and their own courts where cases were heard. It was to avoid these courts' sentences that some individuals converted to Catholicism.

50 M.Ş.S., no: 253 Evahir-i Safer 1255 (May 1839).

51 M.Ş.S., no: 253, Evasıt-ı Cemaziyelahir 1256 (August 1840).

52 M.Ş.S., no: 242, Evasıt-ı Zilkade 1258 (January 1843).

53 G. Akyüz, *Mardin İli'nin Merkez ve Civar Köylerinde ve İlçelerinde Bulunan Kiliselerin ve Manastırların Tarihi* (Istanbul 1998) 84.

54 Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, 37.

55 In 1892, Oswald H. Parry visited the areas where Syrian Jacobites lived within the Ottoman empire on behalf of an Anglican institution in England called the 'Syrian Patriarchate Education Society'. Parry visited the Syrian monasteries and churches and made a report for the Syrian Patriarchate Education Society.

56 O. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery* (London 1895) 130–3.

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1900s: one of two arguing families living in this village converted to Catholicism in order to secure the support of the Syriac Catholic Church against the other family.[57]

Both communities claimed to be the legitimate heirs of the Syriac Church. In this respect the Syriac Catholics found themselves in a more difficult situation because Rome was making demands to bring their practices into line with the Latin convention. This in turn left them open to accusations by Syriac Jacobites that they were abandoning their ancient traditions. These problems were most acute during the pontificate of Pius IX, who was a fervent supporter of centralization.[58] The decisions of a council held in the year 1888 show that in the face of Roman pressure the Catholic Syriac bishops were attempting to steer a middle course: they accepted the Latin position that all priests should be celibate but balked at giving Rome a say in the election of the patriarch.[59]

The problem of churches and cemeteries

Another important contentious issue in the conflict following the separation was the sharing of churches and cemeteries. In fact, this problem was common among all communities divided as a result of the influence of Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman empire. For example, the conflict over the sharing of churches between Nestorians and Chaldeans, who appeared as a separate community when some of the Nestorians converted to Catholicism in the sixteenth century, continued even into the second half of the nineteenth century.[60]

The Syriac Catholics laid claim to the property of the Syriac Jacobites, their former community, although they were no longer Jacobites. The disputes occurred soon after the schism. Interestingly, Michael Jarweh chose the monastery of Deyruzzafaran, the Syriac Jacobites' patriarchal centre since 1293, as the Syriac Catholic patriarchal centre.[61] This represented a challenge to the Syriac Jacobites, a move which was aimed at disrupting the community which had not yet converted to Catholicism.

Although this attempt failed, the Syriac Catholics continued in their struggle to wrestle Deyruzzafaran from the Syriac Jacobites. When the Syriac Catholics understood that they could never overcome the Syriac Jacobites because of the latter's larger population, they appealed to the authorities in Istanbul in order to solve the problem. By 1839, they seem to have succeeded in gaining permission to hold religious ceremonies in Deyruzzafaran, because, according to one Western traveller, both communities would hold their ceremonies there at the same time but in separate spaces.[62] It was undoubtedly through the influence of the Roman Catholic Church that the Syriac Catholics were able to secure this permission. However, this was not enough to keep the Syriac

57 G. Akyüz and Ş. Aktaş, *Bakısyan (Alagöz) Köyü'nün Tarihçesi* (Mardin 2004) 96–7.
58 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 232–3.
59 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 295.
60 B.O.A., MKT. UM., 301/79.
61 Ercan, *Günümüze Yansımaları*, 14.
62 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, 116.

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Jacobites away from the monastery. It seems to have been only a temporary solution, because in 1850 the Syriac Catholics again attempted to make Deyruzzafaran their patriarchal centre, but they failed once more in their attempt because of the strong reaction of the Syriac Jacobites.[63]

Failing to take possession of Syriac Jacobite churches, the Syriac Catholics made use of some private properties in Mardin as churches. Although this was forbidden according to the laws of the Ottoman empire, neither the empire nor the Syriac Jacobites reacted against this situation since both wanted to avoid a reaction from France, which supported the Catholics.[64] On the other hand, the Syriac Catholics did not give up attempts to take over the Syriac Jacobites' churches at any opportunity, and each time these incursions caused conflict. The churches in Mardin which were at the centre of the conflict included those of Erbain ('The Forty') and Mart Shamun within the city and Mar Mihail near the city. The Syriac Catholics first occupied the church of Mart Shamun but were forced to leave it; they thereupon tried to settle in Erbain Church, but again they failed because of Syriac Jacobite resistance.[65]

Besides the problem of Syriac Catholics laying claim to the churches, the fact that they buried their dead in Syriac Jacobite cemeteries also led to complaints about them to the State. Thus, a *ferman* dated January 1843 and issued to Elias, the patriarch of the Syriac Jacobites, stated that the interference by the Catholics with the churches and cemeteries of the Syriac Jacobites had to be prevented in accordance with the laws of the State.[66]

The implementation of the decree presented difficulties for the Catholics, who were now forced to look for new places to bury their dead. The garden of a house owned by Matran Anton, the Catholic plenipotentiary in Mardin, was in 1844 used as a cemetery for the Syriac Catholics. Although they were permitted officially by the authorities to make such accommodation for cemetery space, they faced other problems. For instance, Toma, the representative of Matran Anton, bought a piece of land belonging to a Muslim south of Matran's house in order to expand the cemetery. This resulted in an argument because it did not accord with Ottoman law which prohibited the use of land owned by a Muslim for such purposes. Amid these debates, the Syriac Catholics demanded the use of one of the three churches mentioned above. The Catholics received the response from the state that the three churches had always belonged to the Jacobites, and therefore could not be given to the Catholics.[67]

The problem was finally resolved by an 1844 *ferman* of the sultan stating that 'as the Catholics are subjects of my supreme royalty, it is not right that they remain without a cemetery.' Thereafter, they were permitted to make use of land purchased

63 Özcoşar, *Mardin Süryanileri*, 108.

64 Aboona, 'National Churches of Mesopotamia'.

65 İ. Armale, *Türkiye Mezopotamyasında Mardin*, trans. (from Syriac), T. Karataş (Södertälje 1993) 33.

66 M.Ş.S., no: 242, Evasıt-ı Zilkade 1258 (January 1843).

67 B.O.A., HR.MKT., 7/32.

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from Muslims as cemeteries.[68] An order by the governor of Mosul appeared approximately four months after this decree mentioning Matran's house as a church, and stating that no one should interfere with the religious ceremonies of the Syriac Catholics.[69]

However, since the intervention by the Catholics in Orthodox churches and monasteries was the main item on the agenda when the Syriac Jacobite patriarch, Petros, made an official visit to Istanbul in 1852, we can see that the problem still existed at this time.[70]

In the wider context of these ecclesiastical tensions, it is noticeable that France frequently intervened in the disputes between the Syriac Catholics and the Syriac Jacobites in favour of the Syriac Catholics. Such intervention occurred, for example, during a confrontation between the two communities over a church in Midyat in 1852. According to an Ottoman foreign affairs report in that year, a French priest undertook advocacy for the Syriac Catholics before the courts. Although the decision in the case is unclear, a French *chargé d'affaires* complained afterwards that the judge had insulted the French priest. Thereupon an order was sent to the governor of the region requesting that the French priests be treated carefully in terms of the agreements between the Ottoman empire and France.[71]

Disputes between the Syriac Jacobites and the Syriac Catholics decreased after the latter began building new churches. The first place used by the Syriac Catholics as a church in Mardin was Matran Anton's house, as mentioned above. In time, the Syriac Catholics extended their existing churches and built new ones as their numbers increased in Mardin. An application by the Syriac Catholic bishop of Istanbul to extend a church owned by the Catholics was accepted in June 1858. A *ferman* sent to the administrator and the judge of Mardin urged them not to raise difficulties and not to demand any payment because the necessary permission for extending the church within the defined dimensions had been given.[72]

Matran Anton's house accommodated also a church known as the church of the Virgin Mary;[73] the garden was used as a cemetery. A centre for the patriarchate was built near this church at the end of the nineteenth century. Additionally, the Syriac Catholics began to build a monastery named after Mar Afram at the western gate of Mardin and finished it in 1884.[74] They also constructed a new church named Mar Osyo on the eastern side of Mardin.[75]

68 M.Ş.S., no: 242 Evail-i Safer 1260 (March 1844).
69 M.Ş.S., no: 242 Cemaziyelevvel 1260 (June 1844).
70 B.O.A., DVN., 92/39.
71 B.O.A., HR. MKT., 46/75.
72 M.Ş.S., no: 235 Evahir-i Şevval 1274 (June 1858).
73 Armale, *Mardin*, 33.
74 Akyüz, *Manastırların Tarihi*, 82–90.
75 Armale, *Mardin*, 33.

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Conclusion

Evaluating the results of Catholic missionary activities against the Syriac Jacobites as a whole, two main results appear. The first is that the Syriac community was divided into separate Jacobite and Catholic communities, which then came into conflict with each other, leaving behind a legacy of dissolution, hostility, and various identity issues. The other, more positive, outcome is that it was through such Catholic missionary activities that Eastern Christians started to engage more fully with the Western world; indeed, we can say that the process of modernization for the Syriac community began with these missionary movements. There were, of course, other factors contributing to both outcomes; the main aim of this paper has been to examine the process of Catholic missionary activity as a dynamic in this regard.

The Church has always been a unifying factor for the Syriac community, from ancient through medieval to modern times, although occasionally they have experienced considerable internal conflict over, for example, the election of a patriarch. One of the most important effects of the Catholic missionary activities on the Syriac Jacobites was the deconstruction of the Church organization.

Always deeply loyal to their beliefs, the Syriacs reacted strongly against Catholicization, and this reaction turned into ongoing hostility between the two Syriac communities. The nineteenth century was experienced by the Syriacs as a century of conflict. However, this confrontation also started a new process of development for the Syriac Jacobites. They reorganized their Church system more rigidly and rearranged the relationships between the Church and the community; the patriarchate adopted a central administration and as a result the appointment of metropolitans, bishops, and priests was carried out more carefully. A notable outcome of this centralization was that patriarch Petros probably began to collect taxes, called *lemmê* in Syriac, and took a census of the population in 1872.[76]

The Syriacs, who had become a minority following the emergence of Islam and had turned inward following the crusades and the Mongol invasions, began to be engaged with the outside world during this process. They established a representative office of their patriarchate in Istanbul in order to communicate directly with the government.[77] Furthermore, in seeking a degree of political power to counterbalance French support for the Catholics, the Syriac Jacobites began initiating contact with other European countries and they opened contacts with various societies in England through the Protestant missionaries, such as the Syrian Patriarchate Education Society. It may seem counter to their purposes that they sought the support of the Protestants against the Catholics, but this can be explained by the fact that the Protestants practised a less intrusive missionary strategy than that of the Catholics. Patriarch Petros' visit to England in 1874 became a turning point in relations between England and the Syriac Jacobites; specifically, an

76 *Lemmê Book* (1870), Archive of Erbain ('The Forty') Church in Mardin.

77 E. Metin, 'İstanbul Güzel ve Hain Dost', *HETO, Süryani Edebiyat Dergisi* 1(1999) 34.

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important stage of Syriac modernization in the nineteenth century was the acquisition of a printing press and the subsequent production of books.

The use of technology and scientific methods by the missionaries contrasted with their veritable absence in the Ottoman empire and highlighted the necessity for modernization. The missionaries presented models to Christian communities of regional modernization and the development of foundations such as schools, hospitals, and small-scale handicraft factories. These examples influenced the Syriac Christians especially in the cultural sphere. Some members of the Church thought that Old Syriac, or even Hebrew and Greek, should be taught and they dreamed of recreating the ancient 'School of Edessa'.[78] The impact of the process of modernization on education can be seen even more clearly in the school that the Society of Syriac Brothers inaugurated for Syrian Jacobites in Diyarbekir in the year 1879.[79]

A further important outcome of the missionary activities was that some Syriacs began to question the relevance of the Church and its traditional rituals in the modern world. These suspicions regarding the Church played an important role in the rise of ethnic Syriac nationalism by motivating Syriacs to search for a unifying factor other than the Church. Based on this new conceptual framework, appeals were made to all 'Syriac' Churches to leave aside religious differences and unite.[80] Syriac intellectuals defined Syriacs no longer by religious criteria but through a common 'Assyrian' nationality. This situation resulted in a new and acute division in the twentieth century between secular nationalists and pious Church members.

78 Parry, *Six Months*, 113–14.

79 Özcoşar, *Mardin Süryanileri*, 426.

80 M. Fuat Çıkkı, *Naum Faik ve Süryanı Rönesansı* (Istanbul 2004) 67.

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The representation of Byzantine history in high school textbooks in Turkey

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Examining the treatment of Byzantium in the history textbooks that were used in Turkish secondary education from the foundation of the Turkish republic in 1923 to the present, I argue that the history of this treatment can be divided roughly into four periods, during which the Turkish, Graeco-Roman, and Islamic parts of Anatolian history have been differently emphasized depending on the current ideological concerns. The presentation of Byzantium has diminished progressively since the beginning of the republican period, both in volume and scope, and is currently dwarfed by the extensive and detailed treatment of Turkish and Islamic history. A negative image of Byzantium is produced and disseminated in the textbooks through mechanisms of exclusion, overemphasis, and distortion.

> Knowledge is never neutral, it never exists in an empiricist, objective relationship to the real. Knowledge is power, and the circulation of knowledge is part of the social distribution of power. The discursive power to construct a commonsense reality that can be inserted into cultural and political life is central in the social relationship of power. The power of knowledge has to struggle to exert itself in two dimensions. The first is to control the 'real', to reduce reality to the knowable, which entails producing it as a discursive construct whose arbitrariness and inadequacy are disguised as far as possible. The second struggle is to have this discursively (and therefore sociopolitically) constructed reality accepted as truth by those whose interests may not necessarily be served by accepting it.[1]

The schooling process is one of the means through which hegemony is exerted indirectly through consensus and persuasion. As Michael Apple argues, the entire schooling process is political, and is a battleground for the definitions of legitimate authority and culture.[2] Textbooks in modern educational institutions stand right in the middle of the struggle over the distribution of power in a society, a struggle in which the dominant discourse first constructs the knowledge in textbooks as 'a commonsense reality', and then circulates it in schools as 'truth'. It is both the nature of the knowledge produced and the

1 J. Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (Boston 1989) 149–50.
2 M. W. Apple, *The State and the Politics of Knowledge* (New York 2003) 1.

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type of audience targeted that gives textbooks their power. With regard to the production of knowledge, history textbooks aim at constructing a straightforward and easy-flowing narrative out of an immensely complicated total sum of human experience, offering plenty of clear-cut definitions in simplified language but no critical thinking or alternative explanations. With regard to the type of audience, readers of the books in question constitute a substantial section of society, and they are captive, both physically and intellectually, to the process of learning the 'truth'.[3]

In Turkey, a selective construction of history in textbooks which is, in Mete Tunçay's words, 'full of undoubted/absolute knowledge presented in a dogmatic manner', serves to create a 'national culture' defined by the dominant ideology.[4] If we accept the definition of indoctrination as the conscious attempt to cause people to hold certain beliefs that are presented as truths and are not subject to questioning,[5] then schools in Turkey are among the spaces where a process of ideological indoctrination works in its most intensive form. Scientific studies on history education in primary and secondary schools in Turkey began to appear in significant numbers beginning in the 1990s.[6] While one can find studies in school textbooks on the representation of ancient Anatolian civilizations, Turks, Europeans, early Islam, and the Turkish Revolution, the absence of any similar investigation of Byzantium is rather surprising.[7] Etienne Copeaux's comprehensive examination of history textbooks in republican Turkey, which contains a six-page section devoted to the presentation of Byzantium, Herkül Millas' short article on the presentation of Greek history in Turkish textbooks, which contains a single paragraph on the Byzantine empire, and Michael Ursinus' articles on the late Ottoman perception of Byzantium are currently the only discussions of the subject in the academic literature.[8]

3 S. Kaplan, '"Religious nationalism": a textbook case from Turkey', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25/3 (2005) 669. W. Van Peer 'Invisible textbooks: writing as cultural practice', in S. De Castell, A. Luke and C. Luke (eds), *Readings on the School Textbook* (New York 1989) 127.

4 M. Tunçay, 'İlk ve ortaöğretimde tarih [History in primary and secondary education]', *Felsefe Kurumu Seminerleri* (Ankara 1977) 284 as it appeared in Y. Kabapınar, 'Bir ideolojik mücadele alanı olarak lise tarih kitapları-II [High school textbooks as grounds for ideological dispute-II]', *Tarih ve Toplum* 107 (November 1992) 31.

5 R. Borrow and R. Woods, *An Introduction to Philosophy of Education* (London 1988) 71, 73.

6 For a general introduction to the history of studies on history education in Turkey and for works that examine the issues mentioned above, see S. Özbaran (ed.), *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları* [Teaching History and Textbooks] (İzmir 1998). İ. H. Demircioğlu, 'Türkiye'de tarih eğitiminin tarihi [History of history education in Turkey]', *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 6/12 (2008) 438–40.

7 For relevant articles, see Özbaran, *Teaching History and Textbooks*.

8 E. Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine: Tarih Ders Kitaplarında, 1931–1993 [From the Turkish Historical Thesis to the Turco-Islamic Synthesis: in the History textbooks 1931–1993]* (Istanbul 2000) 284–9. H. Millas, 'Türk ders kitaplarında Yunanlılar: Bütünleştirici bir yaklaşım [Greeks in the Turkish school textbooks: a comprehensive approach]', in *Tarih Eğitimi ve Tarihte "Öteki" Sorunu [History Education and the Problem of the Other in History]* (Istanbul, 1998) 256. M. Ursinus '"Der schlechteste Staat": Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844–1912) on Byzantine institutions', *BMGS* 11 (1987) 237–43. M. Ursinus, 'Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Turkish historiography', *BMGS* 10 (1986) 211–22. For a comparative study of Greek and Turkish history textbooks, see P. Stathis, 'Yunan ve [Türk] tarih

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My aim in this article is to examine the treatment of Byzantium in history textbooks.[9] In investigating the construction of Byzantine history in textbooks, I hope to expose both how much of the presentation of Byzantine history was shaped according to the purposes and needs of the official ideology, as well as the arbitrariness and inadequacy of the discourse in question. The specific time period that is covered in this investigation spans most of the twentieth century, starting with the foundation of the Turkish republic in 1923 and ending with the present time. The textbooks that are included in this examination were used in secondary education, which covers the ninth to the eleventh or twelfth grades depending on the period (*Lise*), excluding from the present study textbooks used in primary schools (mandatory for eight years) and higher education institutions. Development of Byzantine studies in Turkish universities deserves a separate treatment, but suffice it to say that the evolution of the treatment of Byzantium in universities was similar to the evolution in secondary education, although there is an increasing academic interest towards Byzantium in Turkey in the last two decades.[10] More

Continued

ders kitaplarında "Ben" ve "Öteki" sorunu' [The problem of 'Me' and the 'Other' in the Greek and Turkish history textboooks], in *History Education and the Problem of the Other*, 125–33. H. Millas, 'History textbooks in Greece and Turkey', *History Workshop* 31 (1991) 21–33. For the perception of the Byzantine period in the field of archaeology in the early republican period in general, see M. Ergin, 'Archaeology and the perception of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine eras in early republican Turkey', in S. Redford and N. Ergin (eds), *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic (Classical and Byzantine Periods)* (Leuven 2010) 13–33.

9 The role of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in leading to the flight of some Byzantine intellectuals to Italy, a point that is belaboured and exaggerated in Turkish textbooks, is not dealt with here because the subject falls outside the chronological focus of this article.

10 For the history of Byzantine studies in Turkish universities, see Ş. Kılıç Yıldız, 'A review of Byzantine studies and architectural historiography in Turkey today (1)', *Middle East Technical University, Journal of Faculty of Architecture* 28:2 (2011/2) 63–80. E. Akyürek, 'Byzantine art history in modern Turkey', in S. Redford and N. Ergin (eds), *Perceptions of the Past*, 205–24. M. Delilbaşı, 'The present and future of Byzantine studies in Turkey', in F. Evangelatou-Notara and T. Maniate-Kokkine (eds), *Κλητόριον εις μνήμην Νίκον Οικονομίδη [In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides]* (Athens-Thessalonike 2005) 63–72. N. Necipoğlu, 'Türkiye'de Bizans tarihçiliğinin dünü, bugünü ve sorunları [The past, the present and the problems of the study of Byzantine History in Turkey]', *Toplumsal Tarih* 112 (April 2003) 72–7. Y. Ötüken, 'Türkiye'de Bizans sanatı [Byzantine art in Turkey]', *Toplumsal Tarih* 112 (2003) 78–9. N. Necipoğlu, 'The current state and future direction of Byzantine history in Turkey', in Ç. Kafescioğlu and L. Thys-Şenocak (eds), *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar/Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran* (Istanbul 1999) 37–41. For bibliography on works on Byzantine history, art history, and archaeology written by Turkish Byzantinists, see S. Eyice, 'Türkiye'de Bizans sanatı araştırmaları ve İstanbul Üniversitesinde Bizans sanatı [Studies on Byzantine art in Turkey and Byzantine art in İstanbul University]', in *Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yılına Armağanı* (Istanbul 1973) 375–428. Necipoğlu, 'Türkiye'de Bizans tarihçiliğinin dünü, bugünü', 74–5. On M. F. Köprülü's 'Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında bazı mülahazalar [Some observations on the influence of Byzantine institutions on Ottoman institutions]', *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* 1 (1931), where the author claimed that Byzantine institutions did not have any direct influence on Ottoman institutions, and on the negative effects of this work on the fate of Byzantine studies in Turkey, see M. Belge, 'Obadan Kubbeye: Tarih yaziminda bir ekol [From nomad's tent to dome:

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specifically, I examined only the curriculum of history classes in general secondary schools (*Genel lise*), leaving the curriculum of vocational, religious, military, and private high schools outside the purview of this study. The written material that I consulted is limited to the textbooks used in general history courses, excluding courses about art history, the history of Islam (*İslam Tarihi*), and the history of Turks (*Türk Tarihi*) that are occasionally taught as electives. One needs to investigate not only what has been said, that is to say the grammar and the vocabulary of the language used to talk about the past in textbooks, but also the conditions in which the language was created, i.e., the structure of the educational system, internal conflicts and common interests that were formed in and did form the educational institutions, the role of governmental structures in the organization of educational policies and curriculum, and the process of publishing textbooks.[11] Moreover, the transmission of a message cannot be achieved without the involvement of an agent who is instrumental in the transmission and a recipient who processes the message. In other words, both teachers and students make sense of the transmitted message in their own ways and, consciously or unconsciously, develop a means of resistance to the ideologically charged 'knowledge'.[12] However, recognizing the spatial and research limits of the current investigation, I propose to focus on the discourse itself rather than on the material conditions and actors that contributed to the formation of the discourse. Therefore, discussion of issues such as the formal decision-making process concerning the content of curriculum and official statements about the purpose of education by the Ministry of Education in Turkey are deliberately excluded from the present work. Instead, the focus is shifted towards the following questions: 1. Compared to the discussion of other historical periods or areas, how significant is the section on Byzantine history in terms of scope and volume? 2. What mechanisms were used to create the knowledge of Byzantine history presented in textbooks? 3. Is there a change in the presentation of Byzantine history to students throughout the period in question? In an attempt to answer the questions posed above, I argue in this paper that the treatment of Byzantine history in the

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a school in historical writing]', *Cogito* 17 (Winter 1999) 395–401, especially 401. Necipoğlu, 'Türkiye'de Bizans tarihçiliğinin dünü, bugünü', 77 no. 17. H. Berktay, *Cumhuriyet ideolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü* (Ankara, 1983) 20, 63–80. For a brief and indirect reference to the negative impact of the re-organization of higher education after the 1980 *coup d'état* on the study of Byzantine history, see S. Özbaran, '1980'den günümüze tarih çalışmaları [Historical studies from 1980 up to the present]', *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* vol. 15 (Istanbul 1983–96) 1359.

11 Apple, *The State and the Politics of Knowledge*, 7. For a detailed discussion of the education system in Turkey, see İ. Kaplan *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi [Ideology of National Education in Turkey]* (Istanbul 1999). Copeaux, *From the Turkish Historical Thesis to the Turco-Islamic Synthesis*, 5–6. On the process of publishing textbooks in the first decade of 2000s, see S. G. Bıyıklı, *Representation of Cultural Heritage in Textbooks: Examination of the Illustrations in the 4th and 5th Grade Social Studies Textbooks (1974–2009) in Turkey*, MA thesis at Koç University (June 2010) 11–16.

12 M. W. Apple, 'Cultural politics and the text', in S. J. Ball (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Sociology of Education* (London 2004) 191.

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Turkish secondary education system during the republican era has been very limited. Especially in recent decades, the short discussion of Byzantium in textbooks focus largely on political history and are dwarfed by the extensive and detailed examination of Turkish and Islamic history. A negative image of Byzantium is produced and disseminated in the textbooks through mechanisms of exclusion, distortion, and overemphasis, all of which aim at delegitimizing the Byzantine phase of Anatolian history and replacing it with a Turco-Islamic one.[13] Moreover, the treatment of Byzantine history in textbooks was not uniform during the republican era. The history of this treatment can be divided roughly into four periods depending on the current ideological concerns: a. Westernist/orientalist period (1923–31), b. Nationalist period (1932–40s), c. Humanist period (1940s–70s), d. Turco-Islamist period (1970s–present).

The first period covers approximately a decade starting from the foundation of the new republic in 1923 and ending in 1931 when Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) presented his grand thesis on Turkish history. The most important change in the educational system in the early years of the republic was related to organization. While the Unification of Education Law (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*), which was promulgated in 1924, initiated the centralization and secularization of the education system and brought private and religious schools under the control of the Ministry of National Education, secondary education was organized into two sections of three years each, comprising junior high school (*ortaokul*) and high school (*lise*). In this period, textbooks written by Emin Âli, Ahmet Refik, and Ahmet Halit (Yaşaroğlu), continuing the late Ottoman tradition, emphasized the early modern and modern history of the European continent, but did not neglect the treatment of Turkish and Islamic history either.[14] The first book of Emin Âli's *Umumî Tarih* (General History), published in 1929 and taught in the ninth grade, deals with ancient history up to the beginning of Middle Ages, while the second book covers the Middle Ages from the end of the sixth century to the fifteenth century and was taught in the tenth grade. In 319 pages the first book covers the history of Ancient Near East, Turkish Central Asia, Ancient Greece, and Ancient Rome in chronological order, with Byzantium appearing naturally at the end of the section on the Roman Empire and taking up five pages. Emin Âli provides basic information on Byzantine administration and the succession system in the Late Antique period, and devotes a relatively long section to the political developments during Justinian's reign in the sixth century.[15] A more detailed treatment of Byzantium is given in the beginning of the

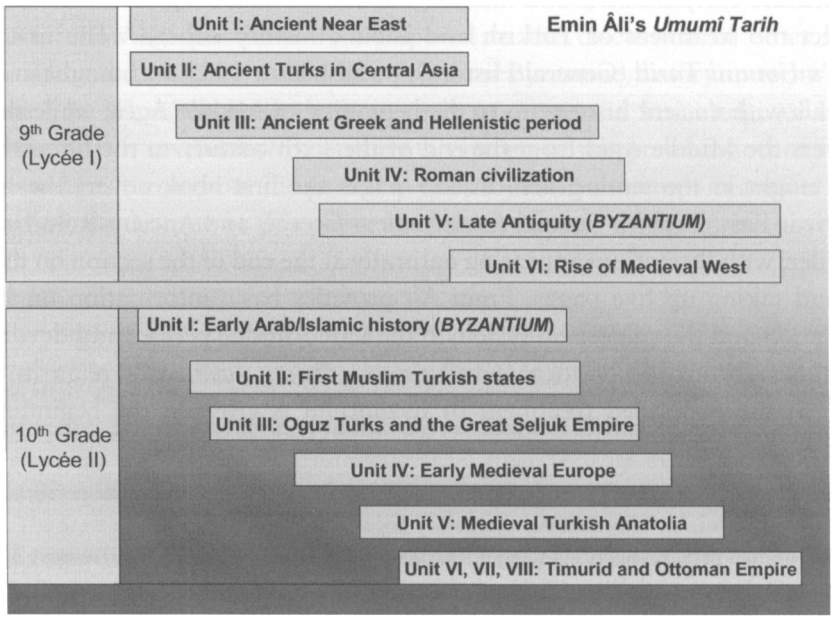
13 For a list of possible ways of re-producing historical data in order to fit ideological needs, see L. Wirth, 'Facing misuses of history', in *The Misuses of History* (Strasbourg 2000) 38–56.

14 For the Ottoman period, see N. Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi [History of Education from the Ottoman Empire to the Present]* (Istanbul 2003). I. Aydın, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Tarih Ders kitapları [History Textbooks from the Ottoman Period to the Present]* (Ankara 2001) 23–30. Demircioğlu, 'History of history education in Turkey', 431. İ. Tekeli and S. İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü [The Formation and Transformation of the System of Education and Knowledge Creation in the Ottoman Empire]* (Ankara 1993) 176–82.

15 Emin Âli, *Umumî Tarih I (General History I)* (Istanbul 1929) 311–15.

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second book of *Umumî Tarih*, which starts its discussion of the Middle Ages with a long presentation of the history of early Islam, and continues with the history of the first Muslim Turkish states in Central Asia and Iran, the Great Seljuks, the Anatolian Seljuks, and the early Ottomans up to the fifteenth century. While the history of the Middle Ages and feudalism in western Europe is covered in a separate chapter, Byzantium is introduced during the discussion of the rise of Islam as one of the main political forces together with the Sassanids. In eleven of the 350-page-volume, one finds a survey of the reign of Herakleios since his years in power correspond to the period of Arab expansion, as well as a re-examination of the subjects that are covered in the first book. This section ends with a discussion of culture in the Justinianic era in the mid-sixth century, which consists of the presentation of Justinianic law together with some discussion of the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. One does not find any treatment of Byzantine history in the central and later Middle Ages, although the history of Seljuk and Early Ottoman Anatolia is covered in detail.[16] Another textbook, entitled *Umumî Tarih I* (General History I) and written by Ahmet Refik, follows a model that is greatly similar to the textbook of Emin Âli. Published in 1929 and used in the ninth grade, *Umumî Tarih I* offers in sixteen pages out of 451, an extensive presentation of Byzantine dynastic history from the early fifth century to 1453, and a relatively detailed exposition of different aspects of Byzantine civilization, namely the Byzantine political system, social classes, daily life, economy, the capital city, religious life, the Church, law, intellectual life, and art.[17]



16 Emin Âli, *Umumî Tarih II* (*General History II*) (Istanbul 1929) 16–26.

17 Ahmet Refik,*Umumî Tarih I* (*General History I*) (Istanbul 1929).

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Close reading of Ahmet Refik's and Emin Âli's textbooks reveals a number of important points that connect these textbooks to the contemporary European scholarship of the early twentieth century. First, *Umumî Tarih I* by Ahmet Refik contains sections that seem to be translations or paraphrases from French textbooks. Translating from French textbooks was a common practice in this period, to the point that it was openly criticized by Yusuf Akçura at a conference at the Istanbul Teachers' School (*İstanbul Muallim Mektebi*) in 1925.[18] The spellings of certain terms like 'iconclaste' betray their French origins, and many metaphors and parallels that were employed in the book are related to French culture, for example 'Constantinople was like Paris' and 'the Comnenian dynasty was similar to the French Capetians'. The negative treatment of Turks also makes it obvious that the work was not written in Turkey. For instance, the author refers to the 'incessant aggressions of the Turks against the Byzantines.[19] Moreover, both textbooks reflect the basic attitude of early twentieth century European scholarship towards Byzantium in its appreciation for the grandeur of this Christian and Greek empire but simultaneous disdain for its so-called over-centralized monarchical rule. On the one hand, Byzantium is portrayed as the guardian of the ancient Graeco-Roman legacy, especially of Roman law, and the barrier that kept barbarians away from Europe. On the other hand, Byzantine emperors are presented as almost absolute monarchs, who 'made their subjects worship them', and the Byzantine court is depicted as a centre of political intrigue; lack of a line of succession to the throne is given as the cause of the rapid turnover of emperors, and the involvement of empresses in state affairs is perceived as a negative development.[20]

This presentation of Byzantium in the textbooks did not last, as the Turkish educational system underwent major changes in the early 1930s that overhauled the previous university system as well as the primary and secondary school curricula. The young republic needed to construct a 'national history' that would act as a prism through which the history of humanity as a whole could be seen and interpreted. The new national history was a reaction to the Eurocentric view of history and anti-Turkish views that were ingrained in the textbooks of the 1920s. Mustafa Kemal's personal commitment to the study of Turkish history as well as the endeavours of intellectuals such as Mehmet Tevfik Bıyıkoğlu and Yusuf Akçura, who gathered together the *Türk Ocakları Tarih Tetkik Heyeti* (Turkish Hearths Committee for Historical Studies), resulted in the creation of the 'Turkish Historical Thesis' in 1930, published as '*Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları*' (The Major Tenets of Turkish History). The thesis placed the Turks on the centre stage of world history. It propounded that the Turks had emigrated from Central Asia, and established the major cultures, such as the Sumerian and

18 M. Çapa, 'Cumhiriyetin ilk yıllarında tarih öğretimi [History education in the first years of the Turkish Republic]', *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* 29–30 (May–November 2002) 47.

19 Ahmet Refik, *General History I*, 354, 359, 361.

20 Ahmet Refik, *General History I*, 354, 355, 359, 362. Emin Âli, *General History I*, 312–13, and *General History II*, 23–6.

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Hittite, in the Near East. The thesis intentionally diminished the role of Islam in Turkish culture, and established a connection between ancient Anatolian civilizations and modern Turkey. Meanwhile, the Society for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti*), which was established in 1931 in order to provide support to the Turkish Historical Thesis, published for high schools, in 1932, a four-volume textbook, entitled *Tarih*. This text was largely based on the Major Tenets of Turkish History.[21]

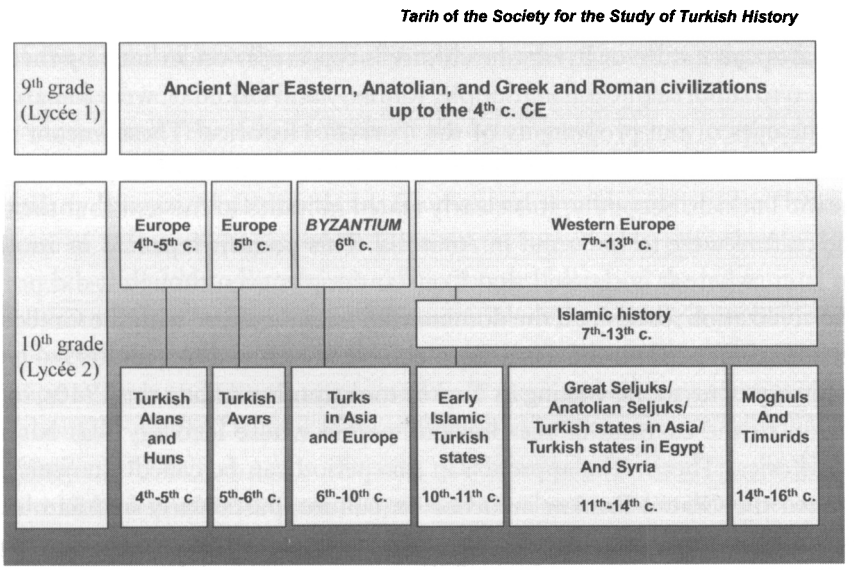
The first volume of *Tarih* covers the pre-historic period and the history of the ancient Near East, Central Asia, and the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean up to the fourth century CE, while the second volume presents the history of the Middle Ages in Europe, the Near East, and Central Asia up to the fourteenth century, leaving the discussion of the Ottoman empire and pre-modern Europe to the third volume. In the second volume, the history of the medieval Turkish states in Eurasia and Near East from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries is told in detail, in tandem with the European history of the same period. In this volume, the term Turk is defined very loosely: Avars, Huns, Khazars, Bulgars, Peceneks, Kumans, and Kipchaks are all defined as Turks.[22] The history of Byzantium is covered in the second volume in the section on the transition from the Roman empire to the medieval world. Out of 343 pages, only five are devoted to Byzantium, and the discussion is limited to the Byzantine empire in the late antique period, especially in the reign of Justinian (527–65). Religious strife in the Church that was caused by Trinitarian and Christological controversies, the political, military and cultural developments of the Justinianic age, and the subsequent decline of the empire in the century following the Justinianic age are the subjects that constitute the teaching material on Byzantine history. One encounters both positive and negative remarks about the Byzantines in the text. On the one hand, it is stated that the Byzantine Empire experienced victorious periods in the Justinianic and later eras, and medieval Constantinople became a centre of law, philosophy and industry. On the other hand, the early fifth century Byzantine emperors are described as ineffective rulers (*iktidarsız*), leaving the matters of the state to the female members of the imperial family. Furthermore, it is noted that the Byzantine empire was under constant attack by its enemies, against which it protected itself behind the city walls and/or by paying tribute.[23]

21 Copeaux, *From the Turkish Historical Thesis to the Turco-Islamic Synthesis*, 38–53. Demircioğlu, 'History of history education in Turkey', 433–435. Y. Kabapınar, 'Bir ideolojik mücadele alanı olarak lise tarih kitapları-I [Highschool textbooks as grounds for ideological dispute-I]', *Tarih ve Toplum* 106 (October 1992) 37. For a general introduction in Turkish to the Turkish Historical Thesis, see B. E. Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu, 1929–1937 [Political Power and Education: Formation of "the Official History" in Turkey, 1929–1937]* (Istanbul 1992).

22 *Tarih II [History II]* by Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti (Istanbul 1933) 20–7, 60–79. The differentiation in English between the terms Turkish that refers to the Turks of Western Asia and Turkic that refers to the Turks of Central Asia does not exist in the Turkish language. The term *Türkî* in Turkish that comes closest to Turkic in meaning is a term used for post-Soviet Turkic states in Central Asia, and is not employed for Turks of Central Asia in the Middle Ages.

23 *History II* by Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti, 39–40, 43.

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Although the writer promises to present the later history of the Byzantine empire in subsequent pages, one finds no full treatment of Middle and Late Byzantine history, except for very short references to the Byzantine armies and emperors as passive players used to illuminate Turkish history in medieval Anatolia and the Balkans. For instance, in the section concerning Seljuk Anatolia, we are told that there were already significant numbers of Turks living across the eastern border of the Byzantine empire under the Abbasids in the ninth century; Byzantine Anatolia was impoverished and under-populated during the Turkish expansion; Turks came in large groups and repopulated Anatolia spreading throughout the region in the eleventh century; and they met Pecheneg, Kipcak, and northern Oghuz Turks, whom the Byzantines had resettled in Anatolia.[24] These statements aim at delegitimizing Byzantine rule, and giving a Turkish character to Anatolia before the first wave of Turkish expansion in the eleventh century.

In addition to the exclusion of later Byzantine history from the textbook, one can clearly observe that the role of the Turks in Byzantine history is overemphasized. In the five-page long section on Late Antique Byzantium, the main actors seem to be the Turks rather than the Byzantines. The narrative starts with the fifth century emperors who hid themselves behind the walls of Constantinople against the 'incursions of Turks from the West and the East', those of the West referring to the Huns of Attila. In the next century, the narrative continues, Justinian's army was composed mainly of Turkish mercenaries, with only a minority of the force consisting of Byzantines recruited from the native population; Justinian employed these troops to prevent Turkish incursions into Byzantine territory across the River Danube from reaching Constantinople. Finally, Justinian's successors had to grapple with Turkish and Arab attacks in the

24 *History II* by Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti, 225, 282.

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next centuries.[25] Another conspicuous point concerns the identity of Byzantine culture. The non-European nature of Byzantine culture is repeatedly underlined by the following statements: two suburbs of Constantinople, Kadıköy and Üsküdar, were Ionian localities, which in the eyes of the proponents of the Turkish Historical Thesis meant they were Anatolian, and since ancient Anatolia was settled by ancient Turkish populations, Anatolian meant Turkish. Secondly, it is clearly stated in italics in the text that the origins of Byzantine culture were to be found in Anatolia. This point is repeated in another form one page later, where it is claimed that Constantinople, even though it did not create a distinctive civilization, combined the dominant 'Eastern' culture with the Graeco-Roman culture that was an offshoot of the eastern culture.[26]

The history of textbook writing in Turkey took another turn in the 1940s, in the form of a reaction to the excesses of the previous period whose ideology was based on the Turkish Historical Thesis. The approach in this period can be called Humanist, because it emphasized the Graeco-Roman influence on culture, particularly in Anatolia. One of the main tactics of this approach was to appropriate Graeco-Roman culture for the republic by arguing that Turkish identity should be based on culture rather than ethnicity, and that the real source of Anatolian culture was the Graeco-Roman world. This trend in textbook writing was also contemporaneous with the humanist movement of translating Greek, Roman and Western classics into the Turkish language.[27] The first textbook reflecting this approach was written by Arif Müfit Mansel, Ziya Karal, and Cavid Baysun and it was used in high schools from 1942 to 1957. The textbook written by Bedriye Atsız and Hilmi Oran and those by Emin Oktay and Niyazi Akşit were representative of this humanistic approach in later decades. Oktay and Akşit wrote high school textbooks both together and separately, and their works were printed continuously from the late 1950s to the late 1980s.[28] While the first volume of their series, taught in the first year of high school, is almost solely devoted to the discussion of ancient civilizations with a special emphasis on ancient Greece and Rome, the second volume starts with the division of the Roman empire in the late fourth century CE, and ends with the foundation of the Ottoman empire in the fourteenth century. The focus of the second volume is on the history of the Turkish people. The histories of Turkish people before Islam, the first Turkish states after the conversion to Islam in the eleventh century in Central Asia, the Near East and Anatolia, and the 'Turkish' states of the Near East and Central Asia in the later Middle Ages are narrated in detail. Nevertheless, medieval Arab, European and Byzantine histories are not neglected. The third volume covers the history of the Ottoman empire and Europe in alternating order from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Even though the Turkish-centred views expressed in books produced during the

25 Ibid., 40–3.

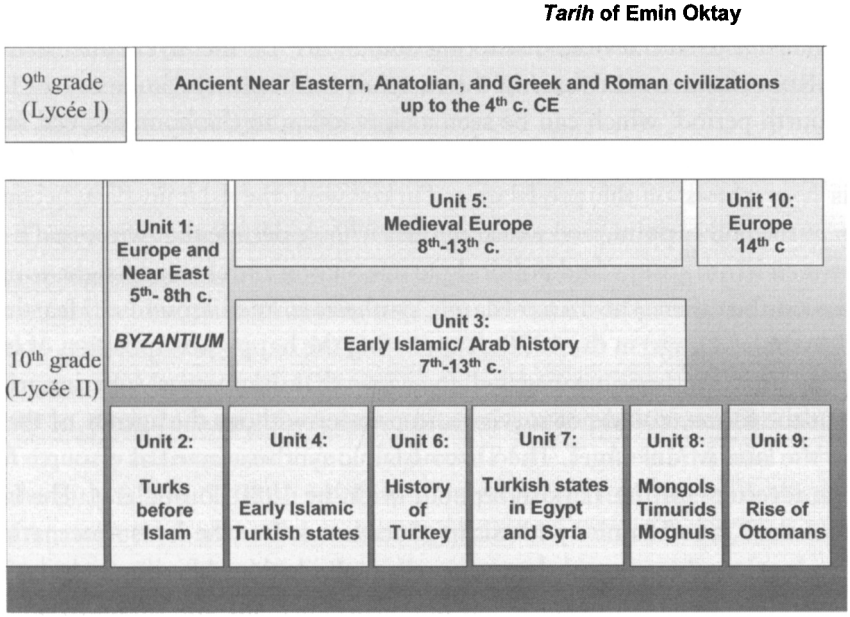
26 Ibid., 39, 42, 43.

27 Demircioğlu, 'History of history education in Turkey', 436. Copeaux, *From the Turkish Historical Thesis to the Turco-Islamic Synthesis*, 54–6. S. E. Carpenter, *Turkish National Education and Political Transition: 1939–1960: Evolving Perceptions of Schooling* (Saarbrücken 2009).

28 Aydın, *History Textbooks from the Ottoman Period to the Present*, 78.

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1930s were toned down in later decades, one cannot say that there is no excess of praise for the role of the Turks in history, especially in the third volume.[29] Compared to the high school textbooks from the previous period, the textbooks of this time cover Byzantine history in more detail. The 1963 edition of the tenth grade history textbook written by Bedriye Atsız and Hilmi Oran contain thirteen pages on Byzantium in a total of 205 pages. Similarly, Niyazi Akşit's textbook for the tenth grade, published in 1969, devotes 16 pages out of 219 to the topic, while Emin Oktay's textbook, published in 1988, allocates 20 pages out of 296 to Byzantium. All textbooks following the humanistic approach introduce Byzantium at the beginning of the material on the Middle Ages before the rise of Islam, and overall they follow Ahmet Refik's organization from the 1920s. That is to say, the discussion in Atsız and Oran's text as well as in Akşit and Oktay's starts with a detailed narrative about the political history of Byzantium, divided into sections based on Byzantine dynastic families. In this dynastic division, Justinian's reign receives the lion's share, although the Heraclian and Comnenian dynasties are also treated in detail because the Heraclian dynasty ruled Byzantium during the seventh-century Arab expansion, and the Comnenians were masters of the Byzantine state during the establishment and expansion of the Anatolian Seljuk state. The discussion continues with a presentation of the Byzantine administration, army, religion and religious strife, social life, literature, and arts, with minor changes of emphasis across the various editions.[30]



29 Kabapınar, 'Highschool textbooks as a ground of ideological dispute-II', 29.

30 B. Atsız and H. Oran, *Ortaçağ Tarihi II (History of Middle Ages II)* (Istanbul 1963) 13–26. N. Akşit, *Tarih II (History II)* (Istanbul 1969) 14–30. E. Oktay, *Tarih II (History II)* (Istanbul, 1988) 16–38.

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The textbooks in the humanistic tradition provide a relatively complex and rich picture of Byzantine culture. For example, the Christological and Trinitarian controversies that divided the eastern churches in the Late Antique period, the theme system of the Middle Byzantine military organization, and various genres of Byzantine literature are explained in detail.[31] It is not impossible to find neutral and even positive descriptions of Byzantium in these textbooks. For instance, Oktay states that Byzantium experienced one of its greatest periods under the Macedonian dynasty in the ninth to eleventh centuries; the Macedonians brought order, and made it their duty to provide the Byzantine people with peace and comfort. Oktay also draws the attention of students to the connection between Roman law as codified by Justinian and later European law, which in turn contributed to Turkish civil law.[32] As an aid to students, Oktay provides a list of secondary sources from contemporary European scholarship at the beginning of the chapter on Byzantine history, and a detailed list of Byzantine buildings in Istanbul at the end of the chapter.[33] However, negative treatment of Byzantium is also not difficult to find in the pages of these textbooks. Problems relating to succession to the throne, palace intrigues, and bloody assassinations are presented as endemic in Byzantine politics.[34] The argument that the Byzantine administration and army were mismanaged becomes more prominent in the sections on later Byzantine history. The misogynist and positivist attitudes of the textbook writers are also apparent. For instance, the empress Theodora, the wife of Justinian, was, in Atsız and Oran's words, a wanton woman (*Hafif meşrep bir kadındı*) who meddled in the affairs of the state. They also write that religious conservatism had, evidently, reached extreme levels, disrupting the future of the Byzantine state shortly before the Iconoclastic controversy in the early seventh century.[35]

The fourth period, which can be seen as a reaction to the humanist era, is called a period of Turco-Islamic synthesis. A number of intellectuals arguing that Turkish culture is a synthesis of the pre-Islamic Turkic with the Islamic past became vocal especially in the highly politicized world of the 1970s, a decade that witnessed a confrontation between leftist groups and political parties on one extreme, and right wing groups and parties on the other. The Turco-Islamic synthesis formed around a 'Hearth of Intellectuals' (Aydınlar Ocağı) in the 1970s, supporting the happy juxtaposition of Islam and Turkishness. This synthesis propagated the view that Islam was superior to Turkish culture, but the former could not survive and prosper without the agency of the Turkish element in the later Middle Ages. The Turco-Islamic synthesis acted as a source for a new legitimizing ideology for the Turkish republic with the 1980 coup d'état. The latter was eager to use the Turco-Islamic synthesis in order to counter the leftist/international political movements, and to control the masses through ideological indoctrination in which

31 Atsız and Oran, *History of Middle Ages II*, 23–4. Akşit, *History II*, 27–8. Oktay, *History II*, 24, 27–8.

32 Oktay, *History II*, 24, 27.

33 Ibid., 17, 35–6.

34 Atsız and Oran, *History of Middle Ages II*, 20–1.

35 Ibid., 14, 18.

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concepts of nation and religion were used as a means of subjugation to the power of the state. This ideology enjoyed a prominent place in secondary school curricula. The history curriculum was nationalized; the role of Greco-Roman history was understated. History and geography courses in the seventh grade (during junior high school or *ortaokul*) began to be called 'National History' (*Milli Tarih*) and 'National Geography' (*Milli Coğrafya*). Specialized history courses such as General Turkish history or Islamic history were offered as alternatives to general history courses or as additional elective courses.[36] The new Turco-Islamist approach came into high school education in 1976, with the adoption of a history textbook written by İbrahim Kafesoğlu and Altan Deliorman. Although Kafesoğlu and Deliorman followed the model that the writers of the humanist period employed, that is to say, presentation of dynastic history first and information about Byzantine culture and art later, and although they had at least a few positive things to say about Byzantium, such as the statement that the Macedonian dynasty created a strong Byzantine empire, Kafesoğlu and Deliorman limited the discussion about Byzantium to a mere five pages. They attributed various negative characteristics to the Byzantines, especially in the discussion of Byzantine-Turkish relations in the Middle Ages. Among the negative attributes, one can count Byzantine perfidy, secret diplomacy, and lack of security in Byzantine territories.[37] The Turco-Islamist approach became the norm in the 1980s and is still the dominant paradigm for writing history textbooks in Turkey up to the present day. High school textbooks written by Kemal Kara, Erdoğan Merçil et al., Kazım Yaşar Kopraman et al., Abdullah Gündoğdu and Orhan Bulduk, Mehmet Maden et al., Yasemin Okur et al., and Vicdan Cazgır have all been approved or recommended by the Ministry of National Education from the 1980s to 2009, and have been circulated quite widely.

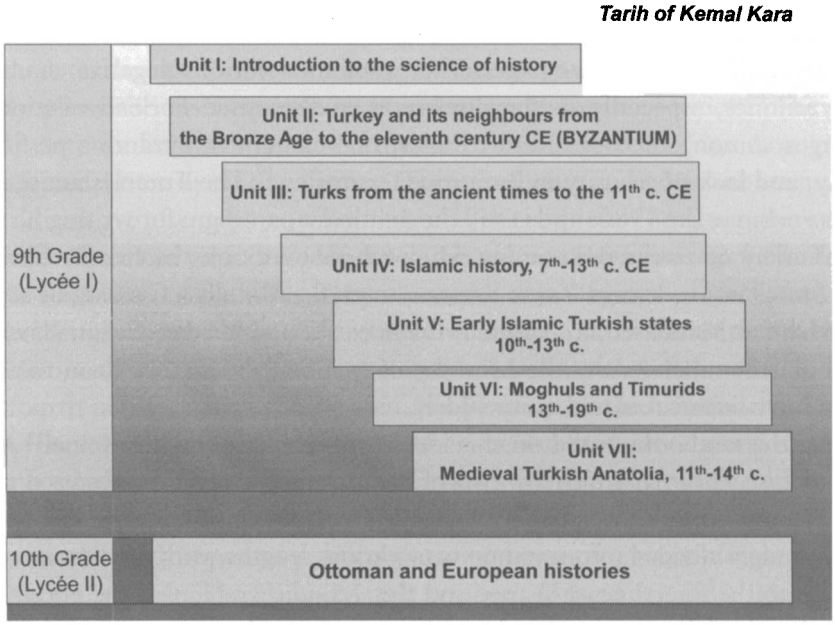
Among the textbooks based on this ideological background are Kemal Kara's *Lise Tarih I* and *Lise Tarih II*, which are two of the most popular textbooks used in the last 30 years. This two-volume textbook provides a typical example of the dominant approach. The first volume is divided into seven units of various lengths, with the first unit being an introduction to the discipline of history and the second investigating the ancient civilizations in and around Turkey from 2000 BCE to the eleventh century CE. A total of three thousand years of Mediterranean history is reduced to a discussion spanning 45 pages out of 283 in total. In turn, units three to seven cover pre-Islamic Turkish history in Central Asia, early Islamic history until the arrival of the Turks in Anatolia in the eleventh century, the early Islamic Turkish world of the tenth to thirteenth centuries except for the Seljuks of Anatolia (such as the Tulunids of Egypt and the Great Seljuks), the later medieval Islamic Turkish world of the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries except for the Ottomans (such as the Mongols and the Timurids), and the Seljuks of Anatolia. The second year

36 Copeaux, *From the Turkish Historical Thesis to the Turco-Islamic Synthesis*, 56–72. B. Güvenç et al., *Türk-İslam Sentezi Dosyası [Dossier on the Turco-Islamic Synthesis]* (Istanbul 1994). Kabapınar, 'High-school textbooks as grounds for ideological dispute-II', 28.

37 İ. Kafesoğlu and A. Deliorman, *Tarih II [History II]* (Ankara 1976) 73, 75, 88, 92, 213–18.

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textbook basically covers Ottoman history with short chapters on European history scattered throughout the book (only 47 pages are devoted to European history in the 360 page volume). In such an arrangement, which heavily favours Turco-Islamic history, Byzantium appears on merely two pages at the very end of the second unit on ancient civilizations, specifically after the discussion of Roman history. Kemal Kara summarizes the political history of the Byzantine empire in a page and a half and finishes his discussion with a very short paragraph on Byzantine art and architecture. Byzantium reappears very briefly in the sections on Islam's expansion in the fourth unit. Here the information in the second unit is repeated along with some additional information on Byzantine religion and culture.[38] As in all previous textbooks, information about Byzantium appears interspersed in units on the history of the Middle Ages, and not as its own unit.



Kara's treatment of Byzantine history in two pages is the longest among textbooks that were written since the 1980s. Many other textbooks provide comments that are much shorter, in some cases not exceeding a few sentences.[39] In some cases, the discussion of early Byzantine history, which appears right after Roman history in Kara's text, is shifted in a concise form to the chapter on the rise of Islam or is absent entirely. For instance, in the textbook written by Merçil and his co-authors in 1989, there is no section devoted to Byzantium, but Byzantine history is referred to in the discussion of the Avars, Khazars, Bulgars, and the rise of the early Muslim Arabs. In the section on early Islam, a very short political history including the late antique period is

38 K. Kara, *Tarih I [History I]* (Istanbul 2007) 6–10, 48–50, 115, 117.

39 Y. Okur et al., *Tarih 9 [History 9]* (Istanbul 2008) 67.

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provided in two pages. The discussion ends with Herakleios, the Byzantine emperor who fought the Muslims in the early seventh century, and contains no reference to art or culture.[40]

The treatment of Byzantine history in textbooks propounding a Turco-Islamic approach is characterized by cases of outright mistakes, moral judgements, exclusion, and distortions. Kara calls the capital of the Byzantine empire 'Bizans (Istanbul)' rather than Constantinople in one instance, and 'Istanbul (Bizans)' in another. He states that twelve dynasties ruled the empire prior to 1453, which is by no means correct. According to Kara, the empire began to lose its power after the eleventh century due to political and moral corruption. Here an element of moral corruption is introduced to prepare the reader for the take over of Anatolia by the Turks, and furthermore, the period of the Macedonian dynasty from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, during which the Byzantine world experienced a military, economic, and cultural revival, is overlooked.[41] Exaggeration and distortion, as two mechanisms of creating new 'truths', play their role in Kara's narration of the history of the Turks in medieval Anatolia. Kara takes great care to prove that Anatolia was frequented by Turks long before Manzikert: The Huns attacked eastern Anatolia through the Caucusus in the late fourth century and the Sabir Turks did the same in the sixth century. Later, Turks in the service of the Abbasids attacked Byzantine Anatolia in the ninth and tenth centuries, with the result that many Turks settled in south-eastern Turkey. Students reading these lines are expected to think that the Turkish presence in Anatolia was almost eternal. Moreover, the statements about the situation in eleventh-century Anatolia shortly before the battle of Manzikert are supposed to leave no doubt that the arrival of the Turks was a felicitous event for the region, because Kara argues that social and economic life in Byzantine Anatolia was impoverished due to the lengthy wars with the Arabs.[42] These statements do not reflect the reality, because tenth and eleventh century Anatolia was economically prosperous and the population was thriving.[43] Additionally, Kara writes that most of the inhabitants were Muslim under the Seljuks, an argument that has no factual basis.[44] Following Kara's model, other recent textbooks

40 E. Merçil et al., *Tarih I [History I]* (Istanbul 1989) 134–5, 139, 188–9.

41 Kara, *History I*, 6–10, 48–50. The idea that twelve dynasties ruled the Byzantine empire is repeated in M. Maden et al., *Tarih I [History I]* (Istanbul 2007) 27.

42 Kara, *History I*, 230–1, 280.

43 The view that Byzantine Anatolia was largely depopulated and was a scene of constant warfare is also voiced in C. Cahen's *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: a General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071-1330* (New York 1968) 64–5. For economic expansion in the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries in Byzantium, see A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge 2007) 3, 65–8, 93, 164–5. A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge 1989) 200–2. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris 1977) 287–93. For a more detailed examination of the Byzantine economy in the middle Byzantine period, see the relevant articles in A. E. Laiou (ed.), *Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C. 2002).

44 Kara, *History I*, 279.

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are concerned with establishing the Turkish character of Anatolia in the Middle Ages. They accomplish this task by presenting a number of groundless or currently unprovable statements, for instance repeating Kara's claim that Anatolia was invaded by Turkish people long before the eleventh century.[45] They also attempt to prove that a sufficient number of Turks immigrated into Anatolia so that they actually changed the ethnic make-up of the region. According to this account, the Byzantines escaped to the western provinces in the face of Turkish expansion, and Turks repopulated the vacant countryside and cities in large numbers in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.[46] Even though some Byzantines escaped towards the west in response to Turkish expansion, we know that a sizable number of the autochthonous population remained in their native lands, and Greeks and Armenians formed the majority of the Anatolian population, especially in the first few centuries after the battle of Manzikert.[47]

The textbooks written in the last thirty years present an extremely negative view of the Byzantines. Both in the Late Antique and Late Byzantine periods, the Eastern Roman empire is depicted as being incompetent and unable to make its people happy. For instance, the authors in question claim that subjects of the Byzantine empire were suffering under heavy taxation shortly before the expansion of the early Muslims in the seventh century, and that Egyptian and Syrian Christians were dissatisfied with Byzantine rule.[48] Dissatisfaction among the Near Eastern Christians with the Byzantine rulers regarding political and religious issues has been taken by some Byzantinists to be a major cause for the successful expansion of Muslims in the seventh century. However, some Byzantinists do not agree with this statement.[49] A similarly dire picture is presented for the later Byzantine period. The authors of the textbooks claim that the Armenians in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire did not

45 K. Y. Kopraman et al., *Tarih I [History I]* (Ankara 1993) 156. A. Gündoğdu and O. Ü. Bulduk, *Tarih I [History I]* (Ankara 2002) 56. Maden et al., *History I*, 47, 161. Okur et al., *History 9*, 81–96.

46 Gündoğdu and Bulduk, *History*, 217, 248. Kopraman et al., *History I*, 162, 165. Maden et al., *History I*, 163, 190. Okur et al., *History 9*, 181.

47 A. G. K. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: Its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols, A.D. c. 1192-1237* (Thessalonike 1981) 123–49. S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley 1971) 169–94, 223–44. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 190–1, 202–3, 326–8.

48 Merçil et al., *History I*, 189. Kopraman et al., *History I*, 65.

49 Referring to the religious divisions among the Christians of Byzantium, Walter Kaegi claims, 'it is not clear that these divisions were decisive in weakening Byzantine authority'. W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge, 1992), 30, 213–18. Moorhead shows that Miaphysites of Egypt did not welcome the early Muslims, but many among them resisted the newcomers. J. Moorhead, 'The Monophysite response to the Arab invasion', 51 (1981) 579–91. For the response of Syrian Christians, see J. J. van Ginkel, 'The perception and presentation of the Arab conquest in Syriac historiography: How did the changing social position of the Syrian Orthodox community influence the account of their historiographies?' in E. Grypeou, M. Swanson and D. Thomas (eds), *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam* (Leiden 2006) 171–84.

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support Byzantine rule, because the Byzantines obliged the Armenian Church to submit to the Church of Constantinople, destroyed the Armenian principalities, and obliged Armenians to emigrate to the western provinces.[50] This overemphasis on the dissatisfaction of Byzantine subjects, coupled with the assertion that the Byzantine throne was constantly claimed by pretenders, conveys to students the message that the Byzantine empire did not have a legitimate right to rule.[51] In the accounts of Turkish-Byzantine relations, Byzantines are depicted as paying taxes or tributes to Turks, or as violating the treaties signed with them, or as provoking the enemies of the Turks to attack them.[52] For instance, Gündoğdu and Bulduk's textbook, recommended by the Ministry in 2002, provides a long list of Byzantine blunders and offenses against Turks: in the year 453, Attila died a mysterious death on the day he married a Byzantine princess; the Byzantines were able to stop the incursions of the Avars in the late sixth century only by paying them annual tribute; the Byzantine emperor Alexios Komnenos attempted to incite dissension and strife among the Turks in order to defeat Çaka Beg, but the latter 'knew Byzantine intrigues very well'; and finally, taking advantage of the internal strife among the Seljuks of Rum in the late thirteenth century, the armies of the Empire of Trebizond attacked Sinop.[53]

To summarize the findings of the present research, Byzantine history occupies an extremely limited space in the textbooks, and is subject to various mechanisms of direct or more subtle intervention throughout all four periods discussed here. Quantified in terms of page numbers, Byzantium does not receive as much attention as Classical Greek and Roman history, let alone Turkish or Islamic history. The lengthiest treatment of Byzantine history is Emin Oktay's 20-page discussion in a 296-page text that covers the Middle Ages, while most other textbooks, especially in the last thirty years, devote inexcusably short sections to Byzantium, in some cases amounting to only half a page on the topic amidst hundreds of pages that present medieval Turkish and Islamic

50 Kopraman et al., *History I*, 162–3. Gündoğdu and Bulduk, *History I*, 208. Maden et al., *History I*, 162. It is true that during the resettlement of some Armenians in western regions such as Cappadocia and Cilicia, some tension existed between the new-comers and the local population, especially on religious grounds. However, this resettlement had some positive effects for the Byzantine economy and military security, and the religious hostility that Byzantines and Armenians felt towards each other was not, in Garsoïan's words, monolithic and uniform. T. W. Greenwood, 'Armenian neighbours 600-1045', in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492* (Cambridge 2008) 363–4. J. Shepard, 'Byzantium expanding, 944–1025', in T. Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* c.900-c.1024 (Cambridge c2008) III, 603. N. G. Garsoïan, 'The problem of Armenian integration into the Byzantine Empire', in H. Ahrweiler and A. E. Laiou (eds), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington D.C. 1998) 53–124. For the positive role that Armenians played in the Byzantine army's push towards the east in the tenth century, see P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon 1963) 32–5.

51 On the fight for succession to the throne, see Kopraman et al., *History I*, 162. Maden et al., *History I*, 27. Okur et al., *History 9*, 170.

52 Maden et al., *History I*, 47. Okur et al., *History 9*, 81–2. Cazgır et al., *History 10*, 13, 39.

53 Gündoğdu and Bulduk, *History I*, 58, 68, 216, 230. Okur et al., *History 9*, 169, 171. Çaka Beg was a Turkish military leader who established a short-lived principality in the Aegean region in the eleventh century

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history. However, as important as quantitative analysis is, qualitative analysis of how Byzantine history is treated in high school textbooks is also quite revealing in a different way. Careful investigation reveals that the approach to Byzantine history is characterized by exclusion, simplification, and distortion of various aspects of Byzantine history. The texts present a lopsided view of the multifaceted world of Byzantium, omitting discussion of important historical topics such as the Palaiologan dynasty of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the later history of Byzantine Christianity, Byzantine relations with the Slavic world, and the Byzantine economy. On the other hand, the texts overemphasize the absolutist nature of the Byzantine state, over-taxation, and the supposedly dire effects of the lack of any succession rule, clearly intending to depict a problem of administration; emphasis on the control of the Church and powerful landlords over the peasants, and on the dissatisfaction of Byzantine subjects from various ethnic groups, present a Byzantine state that had antagonistic relations with its people. The complex nature of Byzantine-Turkish relations is reduced in the textbooks in question to a black-and-white picture in which the Turkish element, acting benignly towards but remaining distinct from the autochthonous population, became the majority over time via immigration from the east in the face of dwindling Byzantine communities that were themselves moving towards the west. In addition, one of the most frequently encountered mechanisms of constructing a reality is distortion, which can be described as manipulation of the representation of a phenomenon through twisting and/or fabricating facts. A perfect example of distortion in the textbooks comes from the representation of Byzantine Anatolia in the eleventh century shortly before the Turkish expansion. Economic and demographic facts are twisted or new demographic facts are fabricated in order to portray a negative picture of the period preceding the arrival of the Turks. Likewise, the frequent Byzantine employment of methods that aimed at solving international political or military problems through official or secret diplomacy rather than through brute force is presented in the textbooks as evidence of Byzantine perfidy and a tendency towards intrigues. Minor distortions play their role in distancing Byzantium from the modern Greeks. For instance, Istanbul, not Constantinople is frequently employed as the name for the Byzantine capital city in texts and maps while in the medieval Greek the city was called Konstantinoupolis.[54] All the mechanisms mentioned above appear most intensively in the most recent period discussed here; that is, starting in the late 1970s. The history textbooks of the last thirty years espouse a viewpoint that diminishes the role of the Byzantine empire in the early medieval Mediterranean reducing it to almost nothing, and which portrays the expansion by the Muslim Turks into former Byzantine territories in the later medieval period as historically justified and inevitable.

Even though the textbooks studied in this paper are categorized into four major periods that championed European, Turkish, Classical Graeco-Roman, and Turco-Islamist perspectives respectively, one cannot claim that the four periods of textbook production were diametrically opposed to each other or that each succeeding

54 Kopraman et al., *History I*, 83. Okur et al., *History 9*, 102, 148. Maden et al., *History I*, 27.

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period was founded on the complete negation of the preceding one. It is possible to find themes that have remained dominant from the 1920s to the present day, as well as themes that were developed in one period, and then incorporated in a transformed and/or compacted form in following periods. For instance, orientalist and misogynist interpretations of Byzantine history dating back from the early twentieth century persist throughout all four periods, portraying a Byzantine empire that was embroiled in palace intrigues, plagued by struggles for the throne, and dangerously open to the involvement of female members of the ruling dynasty in government, which had apparent negative effects. In a similar manner, in none of the periods concerned can one find a chapter devoted to the Byzantines in the discussion of the history of medieval Anatolia. Medieval Anatolian history is Turkish history. If there is any era of Byzantine history worth mentioning, that is the Justinianic era. The mid-sixth century reign of the emperor Justinian is presented in relative detail in all the textbooks, and in some textbooks, the discussion is repeated twice in separate sections. For themes that were developed in one period, and then incorporated in an altered form in following periods, one can give the example of the humanistic approach. The humanistic approach that became dominant from the 1940s to the 1970s – which is called the third period in this article – incorporated certain characteristics of the previous period even though it was born as a reaction to this previous period. Authors of the humanistic period, such as Niyazi Akşit and Emin Oktay, depict a Byzantium that is similar to the way it was portrayed in the 1920s in the complexity and richness of the data provided. However, one certainly feels the impact of the nationalist discourse of the preceding period: the groups called Avars, Hungarians, and Cumans in the textbooks of 1920s become known in the humanistic period as the 'Turkish Avars', 'Hungarians who were ethnically Turk', and 'Turkish Cumans'.[55] In the same way the description of Anatolia before and during the arrival of the Turks in the eleventh century, which is used to justify the Turkish expansion, is borrowed from the nationalist-leaning second period. In other words, the textbook writing in the humanist tradition worked within the limits of the template provided by the book prepared by the Turkish Historical Society in 1931, although it modified this template and provided a much larger space for Classical Greek, Roman, and Byzantine history. Similarly, the arguments that Byzantine art belonged to 'eastern' art, that the Turks had entered Anatolia before the eleventh century, and that their arrival/return was a felicitous occasion for the devastated region, began to be expressed in the second period of textbook writing, in the 1930s. These were developed to their furthest extent in the fourth period. The present discourse seems to be a compromise between the Turco-Islamist synthesis that developed after the 1980 *coup d'état* and the contemporary ideology that champions the values of the early republican period and its view of history.

In conclusion, as argued at the beginning of this paper, textbooks have been seen as one of the most powerful means by which students have been indoctrinated to believe a view of history that suits the purposes of the official ideology. The official ideology of the

55 Oktay, *History II*, 22, 24.

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Turkish republic has itself been subject to modifications, in response to the need for adapting to changing socio-political conditions, and/or to the struggles between various political communities that frequently resulted in some form of compromise. The high school textbooks which we examined in this paper provide a diachronic reflection of these conflicts and compromises. In this ideological scheme as applied to the high school textbooks, Byzantium can never escape a number of negative attributes that serve the needs of the orientalist, nationalist and Islamist discourses. Yasemin Okur and her co-authors, who wrote a ninth-grade history textbook in 2008, use the following words in their description of Hagia Sophia (this description is unusually long for a textbook from the most recent period):

> Despite being a gigantic Byzantine structure of the sixth century, Hagia Sophia was 'an attempt' that followed the Roman architectural tradition. It did not have any antecedent, nor was it imitated later. The contrast between the interior and the exterior, and the large dome are the legacy of the Roman tradition. The building is not elegant from the outside, but the interior is grandiose and glamorous like a palace ... In spite of its unique architecture, the structure has fundamental flaws. For this reason, Hagia Sophia could be kept intact throughout the ages only by spending treasure loads of money.[56]

The description of Hagia Sophia above may easily be read as the prime example of how Byzantium has been represented in Turkish high school textbooks: a territorially large and materially rich empire that was the continuation of the Roman world; an anomaly that was not imitated by later cultures; and a political entity that was fundamentally flawed and could only be sustained by vast financial resources.

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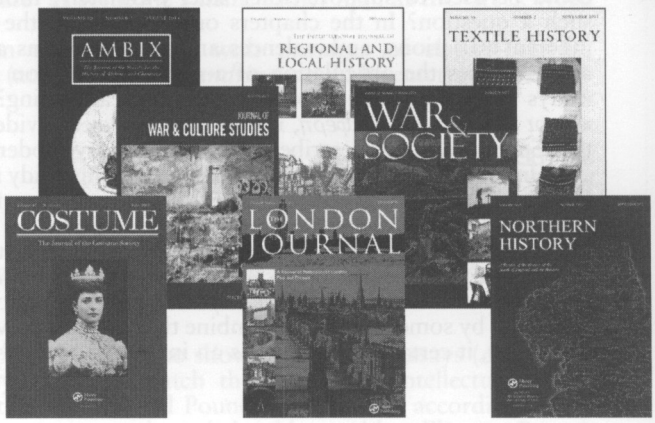
56 Okur et al., *History 9*, 67.

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